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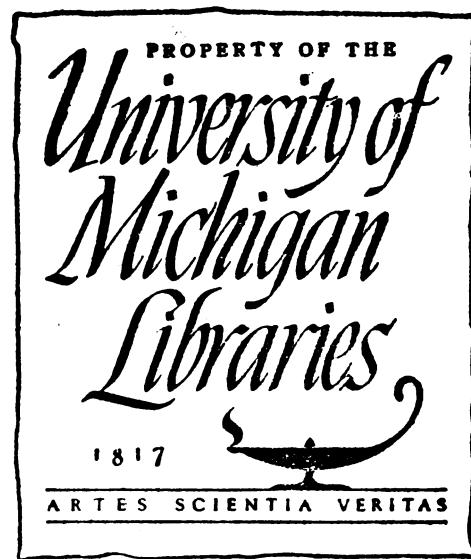
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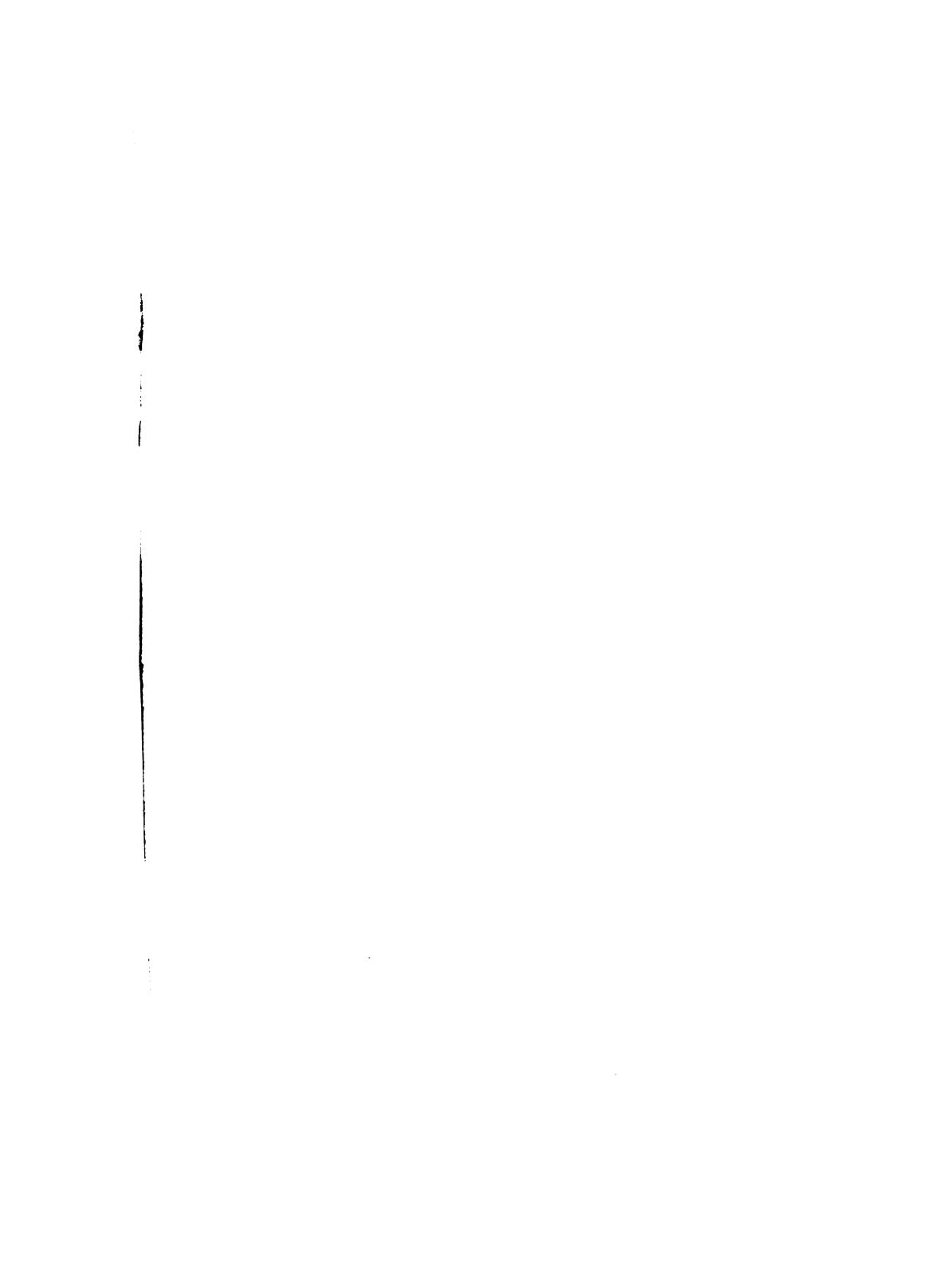
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James G. Blaine

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THE
LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
JAMES G. BLAINE,

WITH INCIDENTS, ANECDOTES, AND ROMANTIC EVENTS
CONNECTED WITH HIS EARLY LIFE;

CONTAINING ALSO HIS SPEECHES AND IMPORTANT HISTORICAL
DOCUMENTS RELATING TO HIS LATER YEARS.

"Dare to do right, and trust the consequences to Infinite Wisdom."
J. G. BLAINE, 1855.

BY

RUSSELL H. CONWELL,

AUTHOR OF "LIFE OF PRESIDENT HAYES," "LIFE OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD," "HOW
AND WHY THE CHINESE EMIGRATE," "HISTORY OF THE GREAT FIRE IN BOSTON,"
"HISTORY OF THE GREAT FIRE IN ST. JOHN," "BIOGRAPHY OF GIANOVELLO
THE WALDENSIAN HERO," "LIFE OF BAYARD TAYLOR," &c., &c., &c.

*With an Introduction by
His Excellency, Frederick Robie, Governor of Maine.*

ILLUSTRATED.

AUGUSTA, MAINE:
E. C. ALLEN & CO.

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~ DEDICATION. *~*

TO THE YOUNG MEN OF OUR GREAT NATION,
WHO NOW PRESS FORWARD WITH SUCH BOLDNESS AND VIGOR
INTO THE VACANCIES WHICH EVERY YEAR NOW
MAKES IN THE RANKS OF THOSE NOBLE MEN WHO
STOOD SO TRUE AND FIRM THROUGH THE
MOMENTOUS EVENTS OF THE GENERATION PASSING AWAY,
I REVERENTLY DEDICATE THIS VOLUME.

R. H. C.

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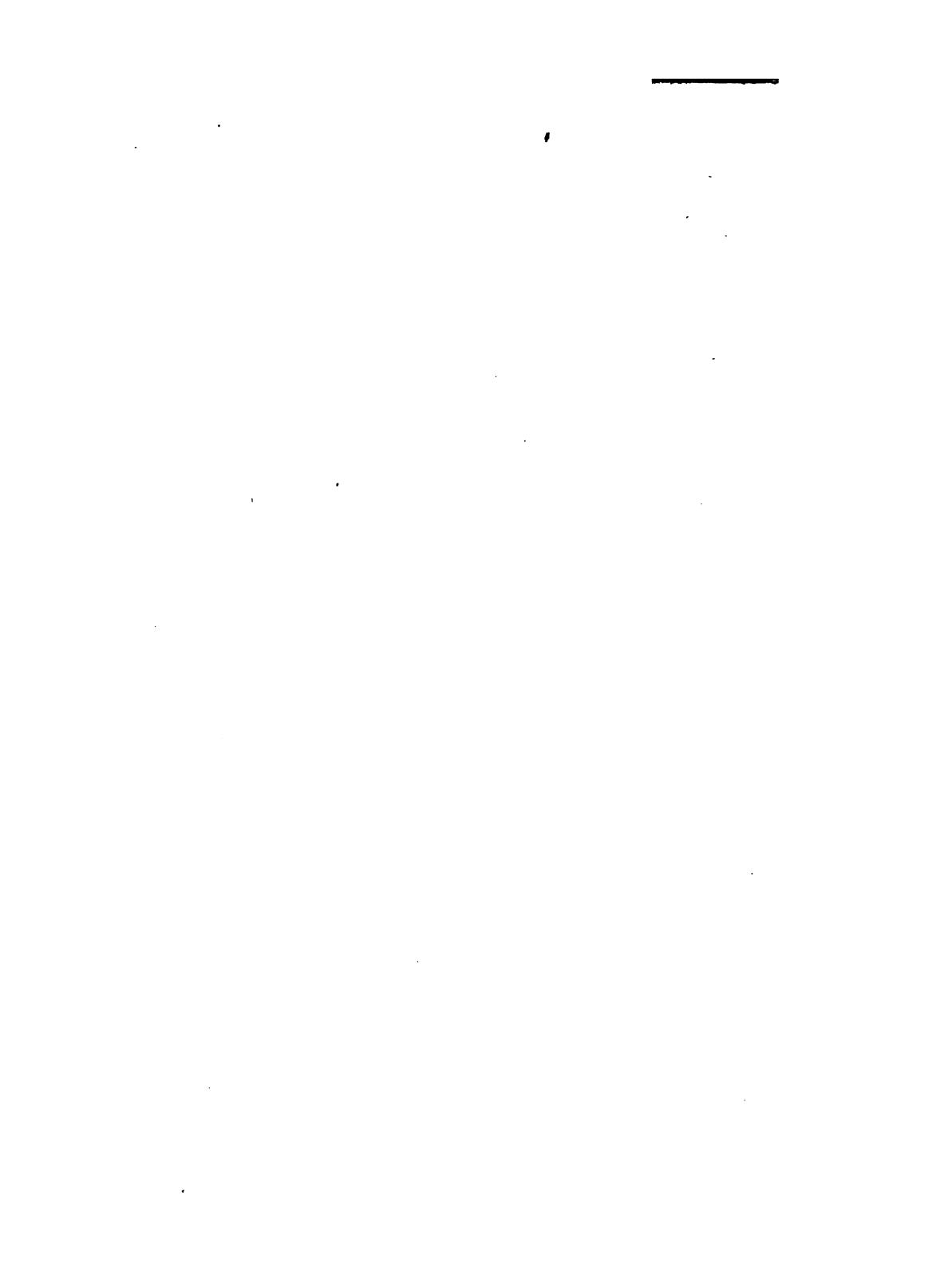
PREFACE.

The child of 1884 has one hundred years the advantage of the child of 1784. If he choose to avail himself of the experience of those who have lived before him, he can catch at a glance, and secure in a moment, important discoveries and conclusions which cost his ancestors a lifetime to solve or acquire.

Biography is the storehouse of experience. Its chief value is in the helpful information it gives, making the reader stronger, better, wiser, happier, and richer. Hence it is a great satisfaction to an author, who really desires to be of some assistance to his readers, to find a character whose experience contains those helpful qualities in an unusual degree.

The writer has here found such a life.

The young will profit by its examples of heroism, self-sacrifice, and perseverance ; those in middle life will be encouraged and inspired by its record of well-earned success, after years of toil ; and the old will find in it comfort and entertainment, as it accounts for their failure or explains their success.



ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

The thanks of the author are due to many kind friends who have assisted him in collecting the facts for this volume. Among them he remembers with especial gratitude: Rev. James I. Brownson, D.D., of Washington, Pa.; J. A. Whitcomb, Esq., of Washington, D.C.; Mr. Howard Owen, of Augusta, Me.; Mr. Joseph H. Manley, Postmaster at Augusta, Me.; Mr. Walker Blaine, of Washington, D.C.; Mr. W. H. Wertz, of Greenburg, Pa.; Mrs. Krepps, of Brownsville, Pa.; Mr. Josiah S. Hobbs, State Librarian, of Augusta, Me.



INTRODUCTION.

STATE OF MAINE,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

AUGUSTA, MAINE, July 1st, 1884.

COLONEL CONWELL; *Dear Sir*: The faithful and concise biography of our distinguished statesman, Hon. James G. Blaine, which you have so carefully compiled, merits universal commendation and meets my hearty endorsement. It will aid in a right understanding of the character and official acts of one of our most illustrious men. It is by the masses that the biographies of our great men are read, the history of our country studied, and the destiny of the Nation intelligently considered and determined. The State of Maine, more than any other Northern State, is blessed with a large native population. Her sixty-four thousand rural

homes are occupied generally by families of early New England origin, the hereditary representatives of colonial and revolutionary times. The State of Maine and the one hundred and eighty-six thousand of her sons and daughters scattered through the several States of this great Union, join substantially in the hearty approval of the action of the recent Republican National Convention in honoring our State by the choice of a beloved citizen as candidate for President of this great Nation.

It was my good fortune to have been associated in public life, in the Legislature of Maine, with Mr. Blaine, during three of the most important years in the history of our State, commencing in the year 1859, and I bear witness to the integrity, great fidelity, and commanding influence which accompanied all his efforts. He came into public life at a time when the management of the finances of our State required a searching investigation, and he was made chairman of a responsible committee of which I was a member. This committee sat during a recess of the Legislature. I recall the masterly manner in which he handled the delicate trust committed to him, his searching and uncompromising

efforts to save the credit of the State. The able report prepared by him which laid open and explained an unfortunate misdirection of public confidence, was at once adopted ; the credit of the State was saved by his labor and by the action of the committee, and the integrity of the Republican party upheld. I call to mind his efforts to develop the great railroad interests of the State, then in their infancy but since developed in consequence of methods which he advocated. I recall his recommendation for State Prison reform, which created a new departure in our State and resulted in an improved method of prison-work and discipline. I cannot for want of space recapitulate the numerous and well-executed plans for the prosperity of our State and Nation which he advocated with the fervor of his youthful eloquence ; but he thus early laid in our State the foundation of that respect and regard to which his untiring services for education, temperance, law and order, and the development of the natural resources of the State, entitle him.

I have been associated with him for many years as a member of the Republican State Committee, and he has never been excelled by any one for executive ability, untir-

ing efforts, and sacred devotion to the principles of the party and the supremacy of its power.

The Republican party in our State, as a unit, has rejoiced at his subsequent elevation from time to time to a broader and more elevated public service, where he has been given an opportunity to exert a powerful influence for good, which has been and will continue to be felt and recognized throughout the civilized world.

These are some of the many causes which have contributed to create and increase the warm feeling of attachment and State pride of this people for our distinguished citizen, which has grown into a profound veneration among the Republican masses. His character for purity and truthfulness stands unimpeached at home.

We wait for the final verdict of the people of this Nation, whose potent voice was heard at the nominating Convention of the Republican party at Chicago, and by the same decree, under the direction of a Supreme power, we confidently expect a glorious victory.

Very respectfully yours,

FREDERICK ROBIE.

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THE
LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
JAMES G. BLAINE,

CHAPTER I.

Description of Washington County.—The Views from “Krepps’s Knob.”—The Beauty of the Landscape.—Monongahela River.—The Village of West Brownsville.—Description of Bridgeport and Brownsville.—The Medieval Appearance.—The Old Dwellings.—The old Catholic Church.—Romantic Impressions made by the Ancient Structure.—The Customs of the People.

Washington County, Pennsylvania, in which the Blaine and Gillespie estates were situated, is at the extreme western part of the State, and near the Southern line, being bounded on the West by the State of West Virginia, on the North by Beaver County, on the East by Allegheny, Westmoreland and Fayette Counties, and on the South by Green County, the latter being the Southwest county of Pennsylvania. The boundary line between Washington County, and Allegheny and Westmoreland Counties, runs along the bed of the Monongahela River, which flows deeply and strongly northward to its union with the Allegheny River, at Pittsburg, Pa.

The county landscape is one of the most varied and beautiful to be found in the whole country. Hills, that rise to

the dignity of mountains, picturesque valleys, through which glide or flow bright tributaries to the Monongahela or Allegheny Rivers, together with the most picturesque combinations of cultivated and wild lands, give a charming variety and a satisfying stability, which pleases the eye and soul of the artist lover of natural scenery.

The celebrated Krepps's Knob, which rises like a monumental structure from the narrow valley at West Brownsville, and looks down with such dignity on river, field and woodland, is noted far beyond the boundaries of the State, for the marvelous expanse and beauty of its views. Standing on its crown of greensward, the spectator looks down upon the majestic river, sleeping in the sunshine, and gleaming with a beauty which makes a description seem overdrawn to any who have not stood upon that favored spot. The writer has not been so charmed with any scene of many lands, unless it be the Righi of the Alps and the Missionaries' Retreat, at the head of the Ganges. Away into Ohio, and West Virginia, the checkered green plains, and the shaded windings of the streams, are seen, losing themselves in the haze of the far-off horizon. The nearer scene is exceedingly English in its squares of grass land and forest, and its sub-division marked by green hedges, and cozy, shaded hamlets and farmhouses. Along the Monongahela, both North and South, the hills and bluffs, like parallel, broken walls, roughly thrown up by some old Titanic gods, guard the river on both sides, and hold it to its ancient bed. Populous towns can be traced in the distant scene, by the shimmer of bright roofs and spires, and clumps of trees, while close at hand the sister towns of Brownsville and Bridgeport lie below, on the opposite bank of the Monongahela, so clearly defined that the streets, yards, gardens, stores, churches, and people can be observed and studied with an amusing distinctness and detail. The packets, gracefully

steaming by, the small boats, with flashing oars, the passing trains along the bank, the smoke clouds at the river locks, where steamers await a passage, the waving grain, the dark, green woods, the endless variety of valley, glen, bluff, mountains, streams, with the mighty barrier of the Alleghenies darkening the horizon of the East, nearly thirty miles away, creates such an impression on the most unpoetical and practical minds, that a spoken word has often aroused them with a start, as if lost in an unexplainable, waking dream. These words are written, well knowing that the critic, who never stood there, will say they are overdrawn pictures, but also knowing that none who visit that "crown of the Monongahela" will ever come to such an unjust conclusion.

Washington County is one of the most fertile in soil, and one of the wealthiest in wool, in the country, and is most carefully and completely cultivated. Its farms are large and well kept, with more of that Eastern taste and care displayed in buildings and gardens than is usual with Western counties. This is doubtless owing to the superior productivity and the consequent wealth of the farmers. The finest breeds of sheep, horses, and cattle are seen in the fields, the roads and turnpikes are well kept, and an impression of the ease and prosperity is felt by the traveler who visits any of its townships.

The village of West Brownsville stands along a narrow strip of the valley, but a few hundred feet in width, between the Monongahela River and the side of the foothills which form the base of Krepps's Knob. It consists of a few unpretentious dwellings built of wood, with here and there a structure of brick. But the narrow space is so cut up by ravines for the numerous brooklets, and the railroad embankments, that the village is most irregularly constructed and most inconveniently situated. Yet the appearance of

many of the houses indicate that they are the homes of industrious, and often of cultivated families. But the principal mercantile center is on the opposite bank and bluffs of the river, in the large and flourishing double town of Brownsville and Bridgeport. These towns, although separated only by the river from West Brownsville, and closely connected with it by a bridge, are in Fayette County. For all practical purposes the three towns are one city, and a universal acquaintance and business relationship exists among the people of the three towns, the same as if they were all included under one name and in one municipality. Hence, to obtain a clear idea of the scenes surrounding the subject of this biography in his childhood days, the description of Brownsville is as necessary as that of Washington County.

Brownsville has not been disturbed by a railroad and its innovations until within three years. It looks like some medieval Rhineland town brought across the Atlantic and set down in the interior of the American continent. The frequenter of European castle villages will scarcely overcome the all-pervading impression that he is in some ancient vassal town, the streets of which must wind up to some ruined and romantic castle. The river at Brownsville would be taken in a picture to be the Rhine at Bingen, while a photograph of Market Street would deceive almost any one if looking for a picture of the street leading up to the Heidelberg Castle. It also reminds one of Sterling in Scotland, and the view downward from the bluffs, or from the old Catholic churchyard, suggests the thoughts of some hillside town in Italy. The delusion is wonderfully preserved in the details of the scene. The Rhinelike color of the river; the bluffs and hills which enclose it; the little old houses which were built close to the streets and after the European manner, and the architecture of which was directly copied

from the builder's old homes either in Scotland or Ireland; there are the old worn and broken flagstones for a sidewalk; the cobble-stone pavement in the winding street. The moss-covered walls, the European costumes, as if the peasantry and gentry of England had made the town their especial resort; the horseback riding, the mules, the carts, the round hay stacks in the rear fields, the spires of the churches, the Irish brogue and the broken German, all are suggestive and in keeping. But the town is made most convincingly European by the embattled towers of the Bowman mansion, which like a castle of the Middle Ages stands overtopping the trees on the highest bluff in the town.

To this is added the antique, stone church, near by on another eminence, which has been so wrought upon by the storm and sunshine of the century that it looks as if it had battled with the elements for five hundred years. The stones are blackened with age, the cement crumbles out of the joints, the ivy creeps along its worn sides, the woodwork is worm-eaten and brown. The buttresses, gothic windows and doors, the flowing tracery of the church, and the graves in the yard about the doors, which so powerfully suggest the aisles, cloisters, and arches of castle chapels in the old country make the beholder turn about to be sure he is in America. The inside of this romantic old church is as quaint and antique as its exterior. The floor of stone flags disjointed and worn with the tread of many feet, the rude wood benches, the arches in the roof, the old altar and discolored round pulpit or rostrum at one side, the sacred receptacle for holy water at the door, and the indescribable antique effect of the old building as a whole, completes the charming scene and leaves the visitor to wander among the tombs and decipher the rude letters on the worn black headstones with a bewilderment strangely illusive, and indescribable. If the reader has no especial interest in the story of a statesman's

life, and has no belief in the theory that such scenes effect human character, he should visit Brownsville for the romantic scenes and delightful experiences which the place itself can furnish, aside from its connection with history or biography. The town is wealthy, and contains a large class of most cultivated people, but simplicity in dress, in dwellings, in manners, with an oldtime gentility, are characteristic of the Brownsville population. The styles of a century ago, when the town was founded, cling with great pertinacity to everything made or done in these days. The Quaker inclination to keep the old in fashion, and the sweet disposition which is somehow associated with a Quaker bonnet, seem also to be equally natural to the natives of this wonderfully interesting and picturesque old town.

CHAPTER II.

Historic Events in Washington County.—The Early Traders. War Between the French and English.—General Washington on the Monongahela.—Battles of the Revolution.—Indian Wars.—The Whiskey Insurrection.—War of 1812.—War with Mexico.—Growth of the Country.

The history of Washington County contains some exciting events, and is intimately connected with the history of the nation. For the early pioneers who traded and fought with the Indians in the expeditions, explorations and wars when the English and French fought so persistently and cruelly for the possession of the Monongahela and Ohio Valleys, were worthy ancestors of the heroic sons who fought with Washington at Valley Forge, with Jackson at New Orleans, Scott at Mexico, and Logan at Peach Tree Creek.

The region now included in Washington and the adjacent counties was occupied by the Delaware and Shawanese Indians when in 1670 the first white men penetrated to the banks of the Monongahela. But it was nearly a hundred years after LaSalle visited the valley on his voyage of discovery for the French government before any serious attempt was made to occupy the territory. Then it was attempted simply to hold the title to the country, which was excitedly disputed between the French and English. An army was sent by France, in 1753, to take possession of the country about the head waters of the Ohio. It came across the country from Lake Erie and began to erect forts

along the Ohio and some of its tributaries. Then the English government instructed Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia to fit out an expedition to meet and disperse the French invaders. The Governor set himself about the task and sent a messenger into the disputed country to command the French to evacuate the forts they had constructed. That messenger was George Washington.

His commission read as follows :

Whereas, I have received information of a body of French forces being assembled in a hostile manner on the river Ohio, intending by force of arms to erect certain forts, on said river, within this territory, and contrary to the dignity and peace of our sovereign, the King of Great Britian ; these are therefore to require and direct you, the said George Washington, forthwith to repair to Logstown, on the said river, Ohio, and, having there informed yourself where the French forces have posted themselves, thereupon to proceed to such place, and being there arrived to present your credentials together with my letter, to the chief commanding officer, and in the name of His Britannic Majesty, to demand an answer thereto.

On your arrival at Logstown, you are to address yourself to the Half King, to Monacatoocha, and the other sachems of the Six Nations, acquainting them with your orders to visit and deliver my letter to the French commanding officer, and desiring the chiefs to appoint you a sufficient number of their warriors to be your safeguard as near the French as you may desire, and to wait your further directions.

You are diligently to inquire into the numbers and force of the French on the Ohio and adjacent country ; how they are likely to be assisted from Canada ; and what are the difficulties and conveniences of that communication, and the time required for it.

You are to take care to be truly informed what forts the French have erected, and where ; how they are garrisoned and appointed, and what is their distance from each other, and from Logstown ; and from the best intelligence you can procure, you are to learn what gave occasion to this expe-

dition of the French ; how they are likely to be supported, and what their pretensions are.

When the French commandant has given you the required and necessary dispatches, you are to desire of him a proper guard to protect you as far on your return as you may judge for your safety against any straggling Indians or hunters that may be ignorant of your character, and molest you. Wishing you good success in your negotiations, and safe and speedy return, I am, &c.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

Williamsburg, 30th October, 1753.

To which was added the following instructions for Washington's personal direction :

"To GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQUIRE, ONE OF THE ADJUTANTS GENERAL OF THE TROOPS AND FORCES IN THE COLONY OF VIRGINIA :

"I, reposing especial trust and confidence in the ability, conduct and fidelity of you, the said George Washington, have appointed you my express messenger ; and you are hereby authorized and empowered to proceed hence, with all convenient and possible despatch, to the part or place on the Ohio where the French have lately erected a fort, or forts, or where the commandant of the French forces resides, in order to deliver my letter and message to him ; and after waiting not exceeding one week for an answer, you are to take your leave and return immediately back.

"To this commission I have set my hand, and caused the great seal of this dominion to be affixed, at the city of Williamsburg, the seat of my government, this 30th day of October, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of his Majesty, George, the second, king of Great Britain, &c., &c. Annoque Domini, 1753.

"ROBERT DINWIDDIE."

Then followed those wars, marches, countermarches, skirmishes and alternate defeats which characterized the campaigns of Washington and of Bradock against the French. It seems like a dream to look on the ceaselessly moving river, and think of the time when along this same stream George Washington glided in a canoe on his perilous

journey! This great tract of land, where he saw only a forest, or the wigwams of the friendly Indians, now peopled with English speaking races, and proudly living under his name.

Historic fields abound. The old Redstone fort still appears in dilapidated works. The field of Washington's defeat by the French is shown by enterprising farmers. "Braddock's field," where such disaster came to the proud English regulars, and compelled them to acknowledge the genius and bravery of "Mr. Washington" in conducting their retreat, has become a picnic resort. The trees still stand where Indians were shot by the daring scouts of those early days, and graves are still green where sleep the brave frontiersmen, who tried to make the wilderness blossom as the rose, but died in attempting to secure the right to cultivate it.

Traditions of adventure with Indians and French still furnish fireside topics for winter conversations among the people, and many a boy at this late day passes a wakeful night after listening to the tale of bloody encounters and hairbreadth escapes of the "great grandfather who first came into this county." These historic facts are given here more because of their having been recited in the ears of the youth of the county, than for their own interest to the reader as historic matter.

After Washington's campaigns and the Indian wars and massacres, came the War of the Revolution. In that the men of the country now included in Washington County were singularly conspicuous. They had entered the territory when the French were driven out from various quarters, but the larger number were from the North of Ireland. A trading post was established at Brownsville, or near that point, and one settler after another came to clear the woods and occupy the land. They were hardy, courageous lovers

of adventure, and ardent patriots. They were peculiarly fitted for the campaigns of the Revolution, and most ardently did they undertake them. One company dressed in Indian costume, joined Washington at Philadelphia, and was nearly annihilated by the various battles of the war. Many other individuals enlisted in other companies, leaving the county sadly defenseless for the terrible Indian raids and battles which under the bribery of the English were inflicted on the people of the western counties of Pennsylvania. Burning at the stake, running the gauntlet, death by torture, massacres of whole families with such cold-blooded cruelty make the heart tremble at the narration. All these give these counties a historic interest and a weird fascination, and must more or less have influenced the cultivation, taste, and general character of those who grew up amid such historic scenes.

But no events of the past seem to be oftener told than those connected with the great "Whisky Insurrection," wherein the people of the western counties arose against the Government in its attempt to collect the tax on whisky, which the people regarded as oppressive and unjust. Riots, arson, tar, and feathers, and finally, in 1794, open rebellion, only quelled by a United States army, grew out of an attempted enactment of the excise law. In it all the questions of State Rights and individual freedom were most excitedly but exhaustively discussed by the entire nation, and some of the principles which inspired the promoters of the abolition of slavery were declared and settled in that great and bloody controversy. Ever since those terrible days, local traditions constantly reiterate the story, and, the boy who lives in the locality of those former conflicts, becomes familiar with every phase of the great tragedy.

In the war of 1812, Washington County, with a most enthusiastic patriotism, sent out a large number of volun-

teers, and more tried to enlist than the Government would take. In Ben Harrison's campaign, on Lake Erie, and at Baltimore and Washington, the troops of the county saw active service, and returned to add the stories of their patriotic deeds to the accumulated historic traditions of the county.

Again, in 1836, when the people were startled with the news of the war between Texas and Mexico, a company was organized and led to the defense of Texas.

Again, in 1846, when the United States declared war against Mexico, a number of citizens volunteered, and entered the campaign in companies and regiments accredited to other States.

Thus, through a discipline of a century, and inspired by the heroic deeds of many a hard-fought battle, the people of Washington County were educated up to that noble standard, and inspired to those great and patriotic sacrifices which they made on so many deadly fields in the great civil war of 1861-4.

With a name less widely heralded than Lexington, or Trenton, because the events which tried the men of Western Pennsylvania were not such turning points in history, yet their battles were far more fierce, more fatal, and were so often repeated, that as tests of personal valor, or patriotic sincerity, they exceed in interest those of any other fields in the land. The historic records, the blood-stirring traditions, and the sacred memories, together with the monuments which have risen, and others which will yet rise, are a valuable heritage to the nation. They furnish a foundation on which to rear patriotic principles, and insensibly and surely lead the native citizen to love his country and enjoy any sacrifice for the good of our free institutions.

CHAPTER III.

The Blaine Family.—Warriors in Scotland.—Commissary General under Washington.—Important post.—Ephraim Blaine.—James Blaine.—Ephraim L. Blaine.—Emigration to Brownsville.—The Gillespie family.—Neal Gillespie.—Neal Gillespie, Jr.—Maria Gillespie.—Marriage of Maria and Ephraim L.—Their home.

Among the brave adherents of the Scottish Prince Charlie on that fatal day, of which Campbell wrote, saying :

“A field of the dead rushes red on my sight,
The clans of Culloden all scattered in flight,”

was one humble soldier named Blaine. The derivation of the name indicates that he was a Highlander, having his home at or near Loch Lomond. The clan color was red and black or red and blue plaid. But of his personal history nothing can now be traced. It would not be difficult to conjecture from the traditions and what few established facts are at hand, the mountaineer's story by the clan to which he must have belonged, and by the cause which as a soldier he espoused. But it is as unsafe for a writer of history to conjecture in matters of pedigree as it is to be guided by political prejudices or partisan estimation. It is enough for all philosophical purposes to the student of genealogy or heredity to have four generations before him, as we do in this case.

The English emigrants who first came to Pennsylvania under its Quaker population were followed by a large detachment of Scotch and Scotch-Irish, who came to the colo-

nies after the "affairs" of 1715 and 1745. Knowing their sterling character and their fighting qualities, the Proprietary Governors, Governors of Pennsylvania, both William and Richard, place them on the Western frontier to guard the non-combatant Quakers against the incursions of the Indians.

Among the earliest settlers in the Cumberland Valley, about 1722-3, near the present town of Carlisle, was the original American proprietor of the Blaine family—James Blaine. He was a member of the first Presbyterian church established on the western shore of the Susquehanna River, and lived long enough to assist in the building of the old stone church which, with improvements and enlargements, still stands on the public square in Carlisle.

The son of James Blaine who gave prominence to the family was Ephraim Blaine, born in 1740, who took an active part in the Revolutionary War. He was at first in the Pennsylvania line, and then, for the last four years of the struggle, Commissary General of Purchases—a dignity to which he was promoted at the age of thirty-eight years on the personal recommendation and request of General Washington. This officer was the great grandfather of James G. Blaine. His own wealth and the wealth of his wife's relatives—Galbraiths—was first offered through him to the Government to clothe and feed the army at Valley Forge. Afterwards others followed his example, and the bankers of Philadelphia then made up the necessary advances to save the army and the nation.

This valuable officer died in 1804. His son James, soon after his father's death, emigrated to Fayette County, in which he had previously acquired, by purchase, some landed interests. In 1804 he opened a store in Brownsville, which he kept for nearly ten years, acting at the same time as Justice of the Peace for the county. Growing old he sold

out the store and moved to Alleghany County and the township of Sewickly, which is now the site of the Economites, a few miles below Pittsburg, on the Ohio River. But he soon removed again to Washington County, and engaged in quite extensive land speculations, and made careful and fortunate investments. At his death he was a man of considerable wealth in lands, and left seven children, Ephraim L., Jane, Ellen, Ann, William, Robert, and Samuel.

Ephraim L. Blaine was a young man of brilliant intellect and possessed of an unusual education for that time and place. But he was too conscious of his ability to use it, and too proud to do much work. He was fond of dress and equipage, and was aristocratic in his manner and pretensions. Yet, with all, a singularly generous man. When he entertained his friends, he did it with a princely hand. When he gave, as he often did, to a good cause, it was in no small way. He did not earn his money, and he could not appreciate its full value to himself or to others. In 1820, when he was twenty-four years old, he first met Maria Gillespie, of Washington County. He was then a graduate of Washington College, and in the flush of manly pride and beauty.

Maria was not only attractive in her personal appearance but was the daughter of a long line of most excellent men and women. Her grandfather, Neal Gillespie, emigrated to this county from the North of Ireland in 1771. He was of Scotch-Irish extraction, and is said to have been one of nature's noblemen. Hon. Thomas Ewing's observation concerning the Gillespie character in general was eminently true of him in particular, viz : "That a strain upon it always developed greater strength." He purchased the old Indian Hill farm, now West Brownsville, on which Krepps's Knob is situated, and which was pre-empted by an old Indian named Indian Peter. The deed of this estate from Peter's

widow is a curious old document and reads as follows *verbatim et literatim*:

MARCH, YE 3d, 1784.

Memerandom of a Bargain mead between Marey Peters and William, oldest son, and Neal Gillespsy, the agreement is thos that we the above do bargain and seal to sead Gillespie the Tract of land which we now poses and all the tenements and boundaries of said land at forty five Shillings per Aker, the tearm of Peaments the 15th of next October fower hundred pounds to be Paid in money or moneys worth for this Peament two ton of Iron at teen pence Pr pound and one negro at Preasment of two men, one hundred Pounds more to be paid at the same time of this Preasment, or Else to draw in Trust for one year, the Remainder of the Purches money to be Pead in two Peaments first in (year) 1786, the Next the year 1788, each of these Peaments to be mead in October 15th the above bound marey Petters and william Petters asserts to meak the said Neal Gillespee a proper Right for said land for which for which we have seat our hands and Seals.

John MaCortney

Marey XII Petters
mark
his

John Nixon

William XIX Petters
mark

Acknowledged before Thomas Crooks, Feb. 25th, 1786.

This fine estate descended to Neal Gillespie, Jr., in 1800, and the Gillespie family scattered to various quarters, becoming the ancestry of a patriotic race of statesmen and scholars.

Maria Gillespie was the daughter of Neal Gillespie, Jr., and was counted an heiress at the time she became engaged to Ephraim L. Blaine. There are some persons still living in Washington County who remember the simplicity, the modesty and freshness of the girl who stood at the altar, and gave her hand and life into the keeping of the genteel and dignified young Blaine.

The happy couple made their home at her father's house, near the banks of the Monongahela, at the Redstone (Krepps's) Ferry, not far from the present Brownsville bridge. The house is still occupied, and is almost hourly pointed out to interested visitors from distant states.

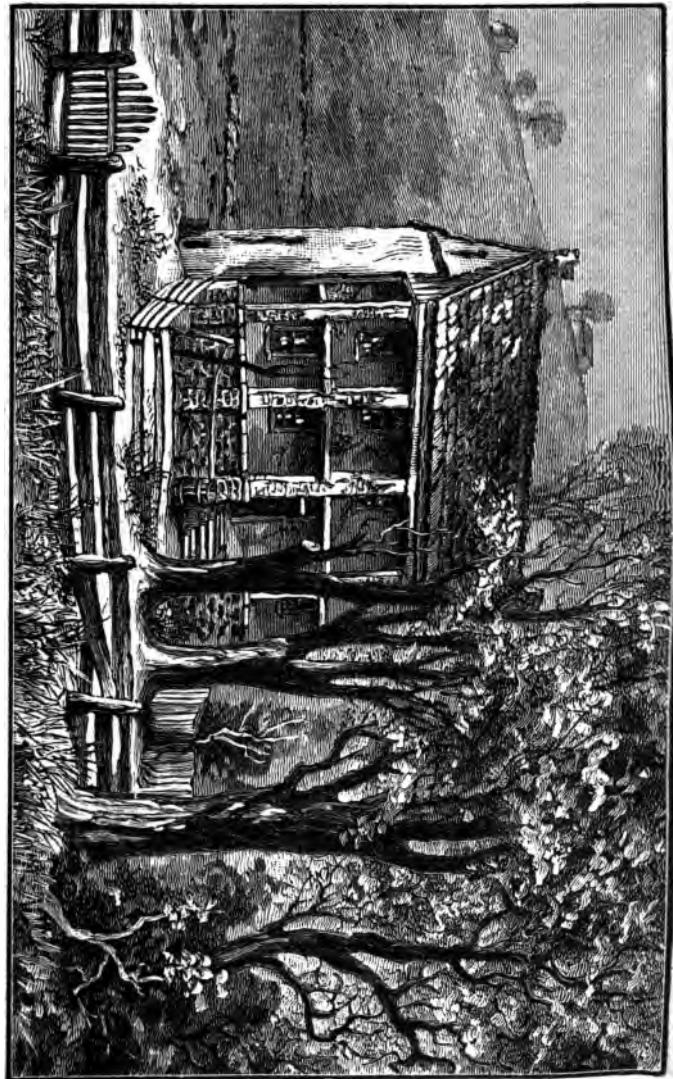
In this house was born their first son and first daughter. Ephraim was not a man to be content with anything but the best, so long as he had the money to obtain it, whether it was for himself or for others, and he determined to live in a house of brick, with pleasant grounds, and a double veranda, after the style of some Southern plantations. The Gillespie estate having, partly by the inheritance of his wife, and partly by his purchase, come into his possession, he selected the pleasant and convenient house of his wife's grandfather on that estate, and there, with the river in the foreground, and Brownsville on the farther shore, with the numerous steamboats and the ferry gliding back and forth before his door, with the narrow valley for a garden, and the bluff and hills ascending from his back-yard, he established his home, with its pretentious double veranda. To this house he built a spacious addition. The round pillars and walls of the old portion were covered with stucco, in imitation of costly brown stone, and its yard was enclosed with a garden fence of neat and costly pattern, for that time and place. The happy and proud family, in the springtime of the year, and in the springtime of their life, moved into their new home. Congratulations, calls and evening parties served to dedicate the new abode, and the hearty, and often expensive, welcome which the young men and maidens received, made that year a bright one in the annals of the youth of 1829.

But Ephraim was of an uneasy disposition, and, having money to spend, traveled about, and was much from home, and, when, at home, supported a costly tandem team, for

private driving, which was the wonder and envy of the whole neighborhood.

The old persons about Brownsville recall many feats of rather dashing and extraordinary driving with that team. So well was it known that old settlers remember the names of the two chestnut sorrels—Boliver and Beaver, the first being named in honor of Simon Boliver, the South American Liberator, whom Mr. Blaine greatly admired, and the second after General Beaver, who was an old friend of the Blaine family.

His wife, Maria, was the balance wheel of the domestic machinery. Without her caution and economy, the estate of their fathers would have been dissipated long before it was. But even her perseverance and attention could not keep her husband from occasional extravagance of most foolish conception. He loved a fine show in horses and carriages, he was passionately fond of nice apparel, and, with all, loved the old-fashioned dinners, and evening parties, where music and wine were prominent features. His wife, so loving, so modest, so sweet, so patient, so careful, so religious, was only brought into such gay company by her love for her husband. All her inclinations were for a quiet, affectionate home and for hidden deeds of Christlike charity.



BIRTHPLACE OF JAMES G. BLAINE, AS IT NOW APPEARS.
PHOTOGRAPHED JUNE, 1884.

[REDACTED]

CHAPTER IV.

Blaine's Childhood.—His birth at West Brownsville.—His father. His mother.—His play.—His childish shrewdness.—His Attendance at the Catholic Church.—The opposition of the Catholic priest to his father.—His studies.

Genius has no pedigree, no parents, no children. The possessor cannot tell how he came by it, and cannot transmit it to others. Mr. Blaine's traits of character, which have made him a statesman and a leader, are peculiar to himself, and differ widely from those of his father, and are like those of no other person whose biography it has been our privilege to write or to study. Some of his old neighbors give all the credit to his mother's influence, and with traditional stories of her prophetic foresight, claim that she laid the foundations, securely and wisely, of that comprehensiveness and exactness of mental capacity which has carried him successfully through the great trials of his life. Some of his schoolmates say that it was the skill of his instructors, who happened, from his father to the college graduation, to be gifted men in imparting just the knowledge necessary, and insisting upon first the discipline adapted to the cultivation of cool and strong statesmanlike character. Some of the sages in the science of human nature say it was due to the natural surroundings of his youth. To the deep and ceaselessly rolling river, on whose shaded banks he played as a child, into whose solemnly moving floods he tossed the dark pebbles, and whose destructive power in the

freshet season startled his developing mind into preternatural channels. One claims it was the wild forest and the ragged scenery of the unsettled landscape, and note, in proof of it, the supposed effect of a like wilderness upon Clay, Calhoun, Douglas, and Lincoln.

But other men have had mothers as foreseeing and as devoted, even if the traditions concerning her extraordinary prophesies be true, and many of them remain ordinary and commonplace in character and position.

Colleges make no great men. An educated idiot will never make a statesman, notwithstanding the American notion that the possession of a diploma should entitle any simpleton to a place in our social aristocracy. The great, active, relentless, human world gives a man a place of real influence, and crowns him as truly great for what he really is, and will not care a fig for any college certificate. The questions which the great, busy world asks concerning the claimant to their confidence are what does he know? and what can he do? It has no concern in the course or manner in which that knowledge or power was obtained. If a man obtain as much learning out of college, it is just as valuable to him as it would be if he had been taught it in college. If he has natural genius it will show itself. If he has it not, education will not create it. Study like that of Webster and Greeley, by New Hampshire pine knots, and like Garfield's, by a wood pile, are the outgrowth of genius. Like the mysterious power of dynamite, it cannot be confined, where there is the least friction. Like giant powder it bursts every bond, however adamantine, and, like love, it laughs at castle walls.

Scenery however grand or strange does not create genius. The Monongahela flows by many a farm and receives thousands of daily contributions in the shape of pebbles from the plowboys on its shores; but its eternal song and its un-

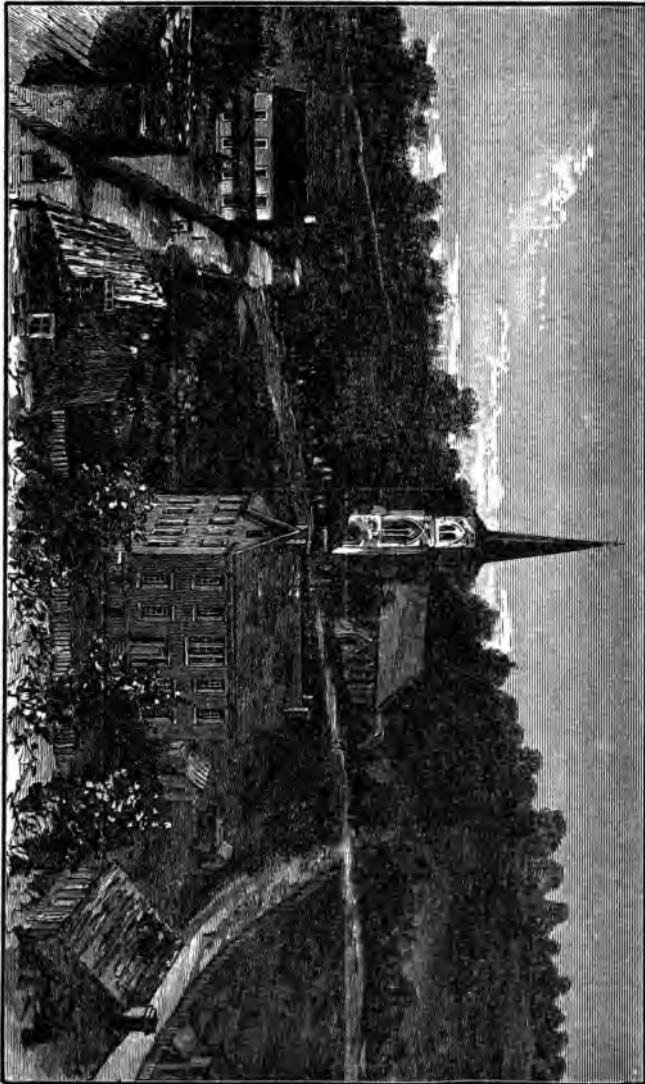
fathomed mysteries are unheard or misunderstood. Woodlands stretch away from many a childhood's home ; mountains mighty and snow-capped frown or glitter above many cottages where neither greatness nor real genius can be found. The student of history sees that inherited disposition influences the character, that early training may give a bias to the mind, that education always ennobles, and that grand scenery has some strange agency in the unfolding of the best characteristics of human nature. But that inspired impulse and intuitive insight, called genius, cannot be accounted for by such influences nor fathomed by any known system of human philosophy. While the life of Blaine shows the value of education, industry, perseverance, integrity, and humanity, and that no barriers can be set up to withstand the march of the truly great, it also teaches us the importance of leaving the child and man in whom unusual intellectual qualities are developing, free to choose any honorable calling untrammeled by parental prejudices or social pride. Neither Washington nor Napoleon could learn the classics, while Walter Scott, Lord Clive and Milton, it is said, were not capable of learning anything during their early childhood. When left to themselves and all artificial restraints removed, their genius developed in entirely unexpected directions. Blaine was a real genius. He had exceptional mental capabilities and inclinations. Unconsciously to himself, he moved onward toward political influence as a stream let loose by the sunshine on some glacier, creeps forward, flowing around trees and about boulders, hindered at times by rubbish and often stayed by unusual eminences, but at last rolling onward into the wide plains an irresistible river, deep, mysterious, sublime.

James Gillespie Blaine, the subject of this biography, was born January 31st, 1829. His father, Ephraim L. and his mother, Maria Gillespie, still lived in their new two-

storied house on the banks of the Monongahela. No portentious events, either in nature or public affairs, marked his advent. A few neighbors, with generous interest and sympathy extended their aid and congratulations. The tops of the hills and the distant Alleghanies were white with snow, but the valley was bare and brown, and the swollen river swept the busy ferry-boat from shore to shore with marked emphasis, as old acquaintances repeated the news of the day, "Blaine has another son."

Another soul clothed in humanity : another cry ; increased care in one little home. That was all. It seems so sad now in this the day of his fame and power, that the mother who with such pain and misgiving, prayer and noble resolutions saw his face for the first time, should now be sleeping in the churchyard. In the path that now leads by her grave she had often paused before entering the shadowy gates of the weather-beaten Catholic church and calmed her anxious fears, that she might devoutly worship God and secure the answer to her prayer for her child.

It seems strange now, in the light of other experiences, that no tradition or record of a mother's prophecy concerning the future greatness of her son comes down to us from that birthday, or from his earliest years. But the old European customs and prejudices of her Irish and Scottish ancestry seem to have lingered with sufficient force to still give the place of social honor and to found the parents' hopes on the First-born. To all concerned it was a birth of no special significance. Outside the family it was a matter of no moment. Births were frequent. The Brownsville public heard of it and passed on to forget, as a ripple in the Monongahela flashes on the careless sight for a moment, then the river rolls on as before. Ephraim Blaine was proud of another son, the little brother and the smaller sister gleefully hailed a new brother. The mother, with a deep joy



EARLY LIFE OF MR. BLAINE.—THE VILLAGE AND CHURCH, BROWNSVILLE, PA.



which escaped not in words, looked onward and tried to read the future, when the flood of years should have carried her new treasure from her arms. That flood has swept over her now, and all her highest hope and ambition is filled, but she seems not now to hear the church bells that ring nor the cannon that bellow at the sound of his name.

All his early childhood years were spent about this home, playing in the well-kept yard, gazing at the numerous boats that so frequently went puffing by. For a short time the family moved to the old Gillespie house further up the river, and some of the inhabitants say that at one time while some repairs were going on they resided at the old homestead of Neal Gillespie, back from the river on Indian Hill.

One of the earliest incidents current among the people of Brownsville is connected with "Jimmie's, toy-boat building." Alongside the house there was a deep gully, made by spring streams which flowed from Indian Hill to the river. At the bottom of this ravine James used often to make a dam for the purpose of floating his rude toy boats. He had often seen the boat builders at work in the new yard not far from the house in which he lived. But older boys, with a love for fun and with an expertness in some modern political methods, would come after dark or during his dinner hour and demolish the dam which had cost him so much labor. Several times this was done to the little man's great grief. Then he went, without telling his purpose to any one, to a large, strong man by the name of Krepps, who had charge of the ferry, and offered to "go after the cows for a whole week" if Mr. Krepps would come and "make a big dam of real big rocks that no big boys could pull up unless they were mighty big."

Whether James was taken at his word and allowed to go after the cows for a whole week is not said, but Mr. Krepps put in the "big rocks" for the boy, and

neither boys nor floods removed them for many years.

One playmate tells how he used to climb to the top of Indian Hill with James nearly every day in summer, and sit there with him as they counted the steamboats coming and going. Once they ascended Krepps's Knob and while looking up the winding river and away into Virginia, James said: "That's the end of the world and I'm going there some day."

As a child he had from the first good opportunities for an education, and a love of political reading was early implanted in him by the newspapers which he read and which he went regularly to the County post-office, a mile distant, to get. These journals included the County paper, the Pittsburg Gazette, Philadelphia United States Gazette, then edited by Joseph R. Chandler, and the semi-weekly National Intelligencer.

His father being a descendant of the old Scotch Covenanters, and a rigid Presbyterian in theory, paid but little attention to religious matters, in fact, and gave that part of his children's training almost wholly to his consistent Christian wife. She unconsciously taught to all who knew of her Godly life that great truth, that real Christian life is in the heart and character, and is deeper than creed and far wider than any denominational walls. Gold is gold from whatever form it shines.

She had the respect of all, the love of many. One cultivated and noble lady, now resident of Brownsville, told the writer how she loved, as a girl, to visit Mrs. Blaine, and often stayed over night. One day while the girl was on such intimate terms with Mrs. Blaine, a neighbor remonstrated with the girl's mother, who was also a Presbyterian. Then the girl's mother replied with great emphasis, "If my daughter will only grow up to be as good a woman as Mrs. Blaine, I would be willing even that she should be

a Catholic." Mrs. Blaine was always retiring in her deportment, and never flaunted her religion, or its forms, before any one. She was not a bigot. She was a sweet Christian mother. That was all. To try to be more than that is to be less. At her death many years later, she was followed to her grave by all the Baptist clergy of the town, with whom she was at all times on terms of friendship.

She taught her children to be honest, generous, self-sacrificing, and kind. She held up before them ever their great Example, and while they were young, she took them regularly to church, and they were christened in their mother's faith. But when her boys showed a disposition to adopt the creed of their paternal ancestry, and exhibited their irritation under the restraints of the Catholic forms, she counselled them to Godly lives and freely let them go to the church of their choice.

His father came from a long line of Covenanters, and all his alliances were with the Presbyterian church, but when he ran for office he was accused, as his son has been, of being a Catholic in disguise. When Ephraim Blaine was nominated by the Whigs for a county officer in 1842, the Catholic Priest at Brownsville, who was a bitter political opponent, was asked by a correspondent to send a certificate that Blaine was a member of the Catholic Church. To which the irate Father sent the following reply, and it was published by Blaine's enemies.

"This is to certify, that Ephraim L. Blaine is not now, and never was a member of the Catholic Church, and furthermore, in my opinion he is not fit to be a member of any church."

During James' early childhood a strong bridge was constructed across the Monongahela River, a short distance above their home. The movement for a bridge and the organization of the company depended upon Ephraim L. Blaine, and

he was one of the most interested stockholders. His land on the south side of the river would increase in value if such a means of communication with prosperous Brownsville should take the place of the ferry. So in 1833 the proposed bridge became a fact. Boat building for river navigation also began to prosper, and extensive yards were opened on the West Brownsville bank of the river. One or two stores were opened near the end of the bridge, and for a few years Ephraim Blaine was believed to be very rich because of the speculative rise of his building lots in West Brownsville. There came a reaction however before he had sold many lots, and that disaster was the forerunner of many discouraging losses which, together with his foolish extravagance, at last ended in straitened circumstances.

Yet he was a man of great natural gifts, and his observation in travel, his study of law, and the social standing of his family, gave him considerable influence in public affairs throughout his life. He maintained his dignified bearing, his generous spirit of hospitality and his love of lively company until his death.

As Prothonotary of Washington County, he was popular as a public officer, and held the office from 1842 to 1845.

The changed circumstances of the family drove James inward upon himself for strength and company, and formed those habits of meditation and self-reliance which so prominently characterize him now. His disinclination to go with bad company, his love for good books, his firm adherence to honesty, and his guileless truthfulness made him a favorite with his mother, but at times unpopular with the youth of his own age.

All through these years the stories of war and adventure, of death at the stake, of sieges, of pioneer self-sacrifice, and of patriotic martyrdom connected with his own county, and all within the lifetime of his grandfather, must have

been heard or read by him as household words. While none of these things can be said to have made him the statesman and leader which he afterwards became, yet they may have had some educating power upon the genius which in 1856 so suddenly beamed forth.

In 1842, James spent a year in the family of the Hon. Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, who was by marriage a cousin of James' mother, and there attended school preparatory to his entrance into Washington College.

The removal of his family to Washington, the county seat, when Ephraim L. Blaine was elected Prothonotary, was an especially favorable opportunity for him to attend and secure the most complete advantages for a college education. For years it had been his ambition, and his father was equally anxious that all his children should have a thorough collegiate training.

But in this there was nothing strange or startlingly precocious. Hundreds of other boys have yearned for and obtained the same privilege. In one thing only could he be esteemed to excel other boys of his age. He was thorough. Having anything to do he did it as well as the circumstances would possibly allow.

One of his teachers still living, relates how she gave him a series of grammatical rules to commit to memory. He came to the recitation with only one learned. When she asked him why he had neglected four-fifths of his lesson, he showed her that he had industriously spent the entire time in trying to understand what the first verse meant. He could not be content with mere words. He wished to know the reason and purpose.

CHAPTER V.

College History.—College Life at Little Washington.—Blaine's Youth.—His Standing.—Treatment by College Mates.—List of his Class.—Letter from him at the Centennial Celebration.—His Latent Talent.—Graduation in 1847.—Necessity of Earning his own Support.

With all New England's well-earned reputation for learning, and great educational privileges, it may be gravely doubted if a county can be found in any Eastern State, where so many schools and academies flourish as in Washington County, Pa. Schools, academies, and colleges were imported with the first inhabitants. In 1780, an academy was established in a log cabin at the county seat, and from it graduated some of the most able orators in the Religious and Political arenas of the West.

Among these, many institutions have preserved a high social standard of education, and which have made for the people of the county a reputation for education and general intelligence, much to be envied, the most important of those still standing is Washington and Jefferson College, representing two old institutions united in 1865.

Washington College was founded in 1780, and chartered by the Legislature in 1806, four years after the charter of Jefferson College in Cannonsberg in the same county. The history of this college, as written by Rev. James I. Brownson, D. D., of Washington, Pa., is a most interesting document, and shows how great an aid such a college may be to a community and a nation. Founded by Rev. Matthew

Brown, D. D., with a self-sacrificing heroism which was most remarkable, and sustained by men who assisted it at continual loss to themselves, it gathered in the most gifted young men of the West, and from it they went forth to the bar, the pulpit, the marts of trade, the chairs of colleges, the judge's bench, seats in Congress, author's honors, and fields of battle. These unusual educational privileges called into the county a highly cultivated class of people desiring to educate their children. It elevated the standard of legal practice and acumen in the courts, and greatly raised the average scholarship in the pulpits.

It began with a little upper room. Now it has its stately edifices with all the appliances and facilities for the most advanced collegiate course, and an endowment of nearly 300,000 dollars. Dr. Brownson in the history of the college published in 1882, says :

"Any other county of the commonwealth, if not also of the nation, may be challenged for the production of an equal list of educated sons, whether to fill her own high places or to lead society in other counties, and states. And receiving from far and near beyond her own borders the youth of other communities, she has sent them back by hundreds, fitted by thorough collegiate training for every variety of professional and other responsible service. More than three thousand graduates, besides an almost equal number who have taken a partial course, embracing fourteen hundred ministers of the gospel, seven hundred and fifty lawyers, and four hundred physicians, six or eight United States Senators, six cabinet officers, fifty or more Representatives in Congress, and sixty judges, together with forty-five presidents and seventy-five professors of colleges, twenty-five professors in Theological Seminaries, and as many principals of female seminaries ; to say nothing of the headships of countless academies—surely, this is a production of cultured men which may be safely put into competition with that of any other community in kind or value, or with any scale of material interests actual or pos-

sible in like circumstances. Proud, therefore, as we may be to be reckoned in the front rank of the world's competitors as producers of the world's finest wool, and rejoicing as we do in the heritage of a soil and climate unsurpassed for the multiplied and varied comforts of life, our highest exultation is in the educated men who have carried the name and fame of Washington County as a chief home of culture into the foremost rivalry of our country, and made it known across the seas."

In 1881, James G. Blaine, writing to the people of his native county, on the occasion of their Centennial Celebration, made some interesting statements bearing on this same topic, and for this and other considerations the letter is here given entire :

WASHINGTON D. C., Sept. 5, 1881.

JOHN D. MCKENNAN ;

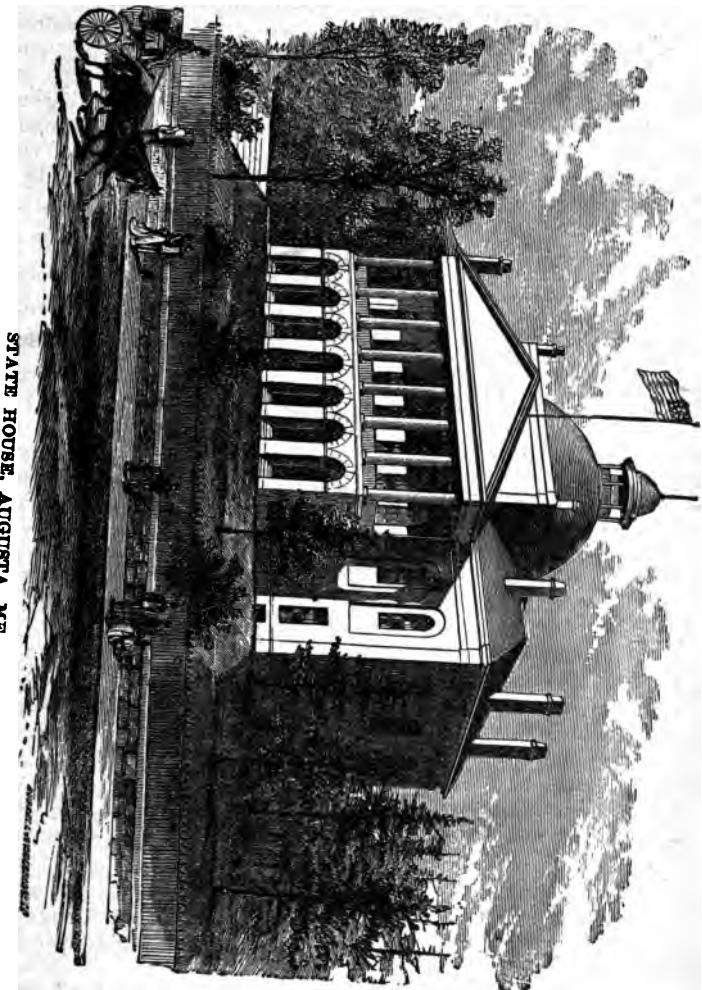
Dear Sir—I had anticipated great pleasure in being present at the Centennial Celebration of the erection of Washington County, but the National sorrow which shadows every household detains me here.

I shall perhaps never again have the opportunity of seeing so many of the friends of my youth, and so many of my blood and kindred, and you may well conceive my disappointment is great.

The strong attachment which I feel for the county, the pride which I cherish in its traditions, and the high estimate which I have always placed on the character of its people, increase with years and reflection. The pioneers were strong-hearted, God-fearing, resolute men, wholly, or almost wholly, of Scotch or Scotch-Irish descent. They were men, who, according to an inherited maxim, never turned their backs on a friend or on an enemy.

For twenty years, dating from the middle period of the Revolution, the settlers were composed very largely of men who had themselves served in the Continental Army, many of them as officers, and they imparted an intense patriotism to the public sentiment.

It may be among the illusions of memory, but I think I have nowhere else seen the Fourth of July, and Washingt-



STATE HOUSE, AUGUSTA, ME.



ton's Birthday celebrated with such zeal and interest, as in the gatherings I there attended. I recall a great meeting of the people on the Fourth of July, 1840, on the border of the county, in Brownsville, at which a considerable part of the procession was composed of vehicles filled with Revolutionary soldiers. I was but ten years old, and may possibly mistake, but I think there were more than two hundred of the grand, old heroes. The modern cant and criticism which we sometimes hear about Washington not being after all, a very great man, would have been dangerous talk on that day and in that assemblage.

These pioneers placed a high value on education, and while they were still on the frontier, struggling with its privations, they established two excellent colleges, long since prosperously united in one. It would be impossible to overstate the beneficent and wide-spread influence, which Washington and Jefferson Colleges have exerted on the civilization of that great country which lies between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River. Their graduates have been prominent in the pulpit, at the bar, on the bench, and in the high stations of public life. During my service of eighteen years in Congress, I met a larger number of the Alumni of Washington and Jefferson, than of any other single college in the Union.

I make this statement from memory, but I feel assured that a close examination of the rolls of the two Houses from 1863 to 1881 would fully establish its correctness. Not only were the two colleges founded and well sustained, but the entire educational system of the county, long before the school tax and public schools, was comprehensive and thorough. I remember that in my own boyhood that there were ten or eleven academies or select schools in the county, where lads could be fitted for college.

In nearly every instance the Presbyterian pastor was the principal teacher. Many who will be present at your Centennial will recall the succession of well-drilled students, who came for so many years from the tuition of Dr. McCluskey, at West Alexander, from Rev. John Stockton, at Cross Creek, from Rev. John Eagleson, of Buffalo, and from others of like worth and reputation.

It was inevitable that a county thus peopled should grow

in strength, wisdom and wealth. Its sixty thousand inhabitants are favored far beyond the average lot of man. They are blessed with a fertile soil, and with the health-giving climate which belongs to the charmed latitude of the fortieth parallel, the middle of the wheat and corn belt of the continent. Beyond this they enjoy the happy and ennobling influences of scenery as grand and as beautiful as that which lures tourists thousands of miles beyond the sea. I have, myself, visited many of the celebrated spots in Europe and in America, and I have nowhere witnessed a more attractive sight than was familiar to my eyes in boyhood, from the old Indian Hill Farm, where I was born, and where my great grandfather, the elder Neal Gillespie, settled before the outbreak of the Revolution.

The majestic sweep of the Monongahela through the foot hills of the Alleghanies, with the chain of mountains, but twenty miles distant, in full view, gave an impression of beauty and sublimity which can never be effaced.

I talk thus familiarly of localities, and of childhood incidents, because your assemblage, though composed of thousands, will, in effect, be a family reunion, where the only thing in order will be tradition and recollections, and personal history. Identified, as I have been, for twenty-eight years, with a great and noble people in another section of the Union, I have never lost any of my attachment for my native county and my native State. The two feelings no more conflict than does a man's love for his wife, and his love for his mother. Wherever I may be in life, or whatever my fortune, the county of Washington, as it anciently was, taking in all the State, South and West of the Monongahela, will be sacred in my memory. I shall always recall with pride that my ancestry and kindred were, and are, not inconspicuously connected with its history, and that on either side of the beautiful river, in Protestant and Catholic cemeteries, five generations of my own blood sleep in honored graves.

Very sincerely yours,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

James entered upon college life at the early age of thirteen which appears to have been a very precocious under-

taking. But when we consider that the standard of admission was much lower then than it is now, and that the course of studies then was less arduous than it is now, the surprise in a measure vanishes.

Yet it was an unusual thing for one so young to enter college. His father is said to have been more proud of it than he was of his office of Prothonotary. Rev. David McConaughy, D. D., L. L. D., was then president of the college. The class was composed of robust, intellectual boys, and it is somewhat interesting to see how they since have scattered.

George Baird, Jr., physician, resides at Wheeling, W. Va. ; Andrew Barr, minister at Wysox, Pa., died in 1864 ; Robert C. Colmery, minister at Delavan, Ill. ; Josiah C. Cooper, physician at Philadelphia, Pa. ; Thomas Creighton died 1860. George D. Curtis lives at Moundsville, W. Va. ; Cephas Dodd died at Washington, Pa. ; Hugh W. Forbes, minister at Montezuma, Iowa ; Prof. Alex. M. Gow, at Roschelle, Iowa ; John H. Hampton, lawyer at Pittsburgh, Pa. ; John C. Hervey, at Wheeling, W. Va. ; R. Campbell Holliday, lawyer, at Moundsville, W. Va. ; John G. Jacob, editor, at Wellsburg, W. Va., ; Richard H. Lee, Jr., lawyer, at Lewiston, Pa., ; John V. B. Lemoyne, lawyer, at Chicago, Ill. ; La Fayette Markle, lawyer and editor, at Philadelphia, Pa. ; Gasper M. Miller, physician, at Ottawa, Ill. ; James R. Moore, Prin. Acad., Morgantown, W. Va., died 1864 ; William S. Moore, lawyer and editor, at Washington, Pa. ; M. P. Morrison, physician, at Monongahela City, Pa. ; Robert J. Munce, physician, at Washington, Pa. ; Edward B. Neely, lawyer, at St. Joseph, Mo. ; William M. Orr, lawyer, at Orrville, O. ; Thomas W. Porter, lawyer, died at Waynesburg, Pa. ; Samuel Power, in Nevada ; Wm. H. H. M. Pusey, lawyer, at Council Bluffs, Ia. ; Huston Quail, lawyer, died at Washington, Pa. ; John A Ran-

kin, at Xenia, Ill. ; Robert Robe, minister, at Brownsville, Oregon ; James H. Smith died in Alleghany Co., Pa. ; John H. Storer, physician, at Philadelphia, W. Va. ; Alex. Wilson, lawyer, at Washington, Pa.

In the class were some very brilliant scholars and some were very prepossessing in personal appearance. Neither of these statements can be truthfully made of James. He was but an ordinary scholar if his age be left out of the calculation, and, according to the memory of his classmates he was lank and awkward. The bright intellect and his really fine figure have been developed in the discipline of subsequent years.

James was not a very active participant in any of the college sports, he having a habit of keeping very much to himself. The literary and debating societies or clubs found in him a special supporter. He could write an excellent composition and often ventured upon an essay. These were very well written and very well read if he was compelled to read them himself before his class. He was diligent, persistent, and frank. But none prophesied that the leading man of the class in the great practical real life of the world would be James G. Blaine.

He was intellectually created for emergencies. It required some sudden call to develop his metal. If on the turning of an instant he was required to do any work, and where he had no time or opportunity to think of himself, he would astonish all who saw or heard him. His temperament was such that he shrank from all self-assertion and cowered before any public attention. But when there was work no other could do, or words to be uttered no other could say, then he would suddenly appear like a different boy and show that the spirit of a great genius was sleeping in his soul.

Such emergencies did not come often in college days,

where, as a rule, the most rattled-brained and shallow receive the most honor and attention outside the regular examinations.

Those happy years passed quickly away with him. Yet not too quickly, as he felt when it was apparent that his father's property was fast slipping away, and he could no longer hope for assistance from that quarter.

James was but seventeen years of age, in 1847, when he graduated, astonishingly near the head of his class. Then the honors of the class being equally divided between him and two other students, he stepped forth into the world self-dependent. As hard as it often seems to see a boy thus early take upon himself the self-supporting duties of a man, yet it is almost always the discipline necessary to develop a strong, self-reliant manhood. This was especially so with James, whose retiring inclinations were likely to retard this progress, unless stern necessity drew him out. What was Ephraim L. Blaine's loss became the nation's gain. It forced James into the practical discipline necessary to develop his talents.

He wished to be a lawyer. But he must earn his own living. However, he could not be satisfied with that. He must earn more. Those occupations and professions as a rule pay the best in which the workman confers the greatest benefit. The more one can bless others the more will he be blessed. To get his own education it became necessary that he should educate others.

In his father's family there were then, besides his older brother and sister, two younger brothers, Robert and John, and his father was out of public office. In this situation, like most self-supporting graduates of colleges in America, he turned toward the profession of a teacher, as the most favorable and remunerative occupation.

CHAPTER VI.

His father's death.—Decides to go to Kentucky.—The Western Military Institute.—Popularity with the boys.—Meets Miss Stanwood.—Marriage.—Goes to Philadelphia.—Successful teacher of the Blind.—Removes to Maine in 1854.

The three years which followed his graduation, and during which he was a teacher at Blue Lick Springs, Kentucky, produced a great change in Blaine, and in 1850 he is said to have become an attractive and mature man. His life was overshadowed by the death of his father, June 28th, 1850, and his cares thereby greatly increased. Those were days of great transition. The sad gathering of his father's mourning friends, the solemn service over the remains, the open grave in the old Catholic churchyard, all emphasized the change. He was passing out of childhood and youth into manhood.

Back of that dark day, a father and a home. From that day on he must expect no protection but such as his own energy could win.

Into the profession of a teacher he entered with his whole nature, and was from the first a successful instructor. The same characteristics which led him to defend the smaller and weaker boys in college, made him a favorite with his pupils. He had a natural and strong repugnance to every kind of oppression. He would not stand quietly by and see a strong boy abuse a weak one, or silently allow a burly boy to tease and annoy a sensitive girl. The strong friends

which he has still in his native county, who appear to love him so tenderly, were many of them the recipients of his kindness and the subjects of his defense in the old school days. One of his scholars, writing from Kentucky in 1863, said :

"He should have been a judge. His keen sense of justice and his wonderful ability to discover deceit or shams, made him the master of the situation. They often managed to mislead the other teachers, and could offer frail excuses to the principal, often with impunity, but to Mr. Blaine never. He knew before we spoke, and often kindly saved the boys from lying by rebuking them first and letting them explain afterwards. I never knew of his making a mistake in that matter."

The year that he graduated from college, Blaine secured the position as teacher at the Western Military Institute at Blue Lick Springs. Col. Thornton F. Johnson was the Principal of the Institute.

The Colonel's wife was also a teacher, and was at the head of a Young Ladies' Seminary at Millersberg, which is about twenty miles from Blue Lick Springs.

In the Military Institute there were between four and five hundred students, many of them of that fiery temperament which characterized the youth of that climate and era. Many of those boys became prominent in after years as leaders in military and political life, and were about equally divided between the North and the South in the Great War of the Rebellion. When one of them, who became a lawyer at Nashville, Tennessee, heard that Blaine was so active an advocate of Abolition, he said to a friend, "He is consistent to his old life. It was natural for him to dislike slavery."

In that institution Blaine was clearly the favorite. He knew every boy by name. He knew their individual tastes

and character. He sympathized with the suffering and enjoyed the sports of the strong. As a teacher, he was clear and simple in his explanation, and deeply in earnest in imparting information. But the ambition of his life was to be a lawyer. For such a profession he was eminently fitted by his intuitive insight into human nature, and his native fearlessness.

It was while Blaine was a professor at Blue Lick Springs that he met Miss Harriet Stanwood, of Augusta, Me. She was living with her sister, and was a teacher at Mrs. Thornton's female seminary. Miss Stanwood was a descendant from the old Puritan stock in a direct line from the Stanwood family of Ipswich, Massachusetts, and in March, 1851, became his wife at Pittsburg, Pa.

Blaine went from Kentucky to Philadelphia to teach from 1852 to 1854, in an Asylum for the blind, called The Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind. It appears that while there he began the study of law with Theodore Cuyler, and occupied his spare hours in the acquisition of legal knowledge.

Mr. William Chapin, the present principal of the institution was principal then, and engaged Blaine to be headmaster of the boys' department. Mr. Chapin, in 1884, in a conversation with the editor of the Philadelphia Press, concerning Blaine's professorship, said that "Blaine was principal teacher on the boys' side for two years, and when he departed he left behind him not only universal regret at a serious loss to the institution, but an impression of his personal force upon the work and its methods, which survives the lapse of thirty years."

"The Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind is the second place in which Mr. Blaine taught after his graduation from Washington College. He rang the bell at the front door of the building one summer afternoon,

in 1852, in answer to an advertisement for a teacher. There were thirty or forty other applicants, but his manner was so winning, and he possessed so many manifestly valuable qualities that I closed an engagement with him at once. He was married, and his wife and little son, Walker, came here with him. His qualities, which impressed me most deeply, were his culture, the thoroughness of his education, and his unfailing self-possession. He was also a man of very decided will, and was very much disposed to argument. He was very young then—only twenty-two—and was rather impulsive, leaping to a conclusion very quickly. But he was always ready to defend his conclusions, however suddenly he seemed to have reached them. We had many a familiar discussion, and his arguments always astonished me by the knowledge they displayed of facts in history and politics. His memory was remarkable, and seemed to retain details which ordinary men would forget."

"Now, I will show you something that illustrates how thoroughly Mr. Blaine mastered anything he took hold of," said Mr. Chapin, as he took from a desk in the corner of the room a thick quarto manuscript book, bound in dark, brown leather, and lettered "Journal" on the corner. "This book Mr. Blaine compiled with great labor from the minute books of the Board of Managers. It is a historical view of the institution from the time of its foundation up to the time of Mr. Blaine's departure. He did all the work in his own room, telling no one of it until he left. Then he presented it, through me, to the Board of Managers, who were both surprised and gratified. I believe they made him a present of \$100 as a thank offering, for an invaluable work."

Indeed, this book, the first historical work of Mr. Blaine, is a model of its kind. On the title page, in ornamental penwork, executed at that time by Mr. Chapin, is the inscription :

"Journal of the Pennsylvania Institution for Instruction of the Blind, from its Foundation, Compiled from Official Records, by James G. Blaine. 1854."

The methodical character of the work is most remarkable. On the first page every abbreviation used in the book is entered alphabetically. The first entry reads: "On this, and the four following pages, will be found some notes in regard to the origin of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, furnished by I. Francis Fisher, Esq." From this page to the 188th, in which is the last entry made by Mr. Blaine, every line is a model of neatness and accuracy. On every page is a wide margin. At the top of the margin is the year, in ornamental figures. Below is a brief statement of what the text contains opposite that portion of the marginal entry. Every year's record closes with an elaborate table, giving the attendance of members of the board. The last pages of the book are filled with alphabetical lists of officers of the institution and statistical tables, compiled by the same patient and untiring hand. One of the lists is that of the "principal teachers." No. 13 is followed by the signature "James G. Blaine, from August 5th, 1852, to"—and then, in another hand, the record is completed with the date November 23d, 1854.

"I think that the book," remarked Mr. Chapin, "illustrates the character of the man in accurate mastery of facts and orderly presentation of details. We still use it for reference, and Mr. Frank Battles, the assistant principal, is bringing the record down to the present time.

"I recall one incident," Mr. Chapin continued, "which indicates Mr. Blaine's mode of discipline, and shows, too, that he was in those days somewhat impulsive. It was one of his duties to take charge of the boys at breakfast, and sometimes there would be a few sleepy laggards. One morning a whole roomful of boys, five or six of them,

failed to appear. Mr. Blaine quietly walked upstairs and locked them in. The boys had a screw-driver and they unfastened the lock ; but by the time they reached the breakfast-room the tables had been cleared. The next morning they rose in time for breakfast, and attended classes, and the little rebellion was over.

"Mr. Blaine taught mathematics, in which he excelled, and in the higher branches. His wife was universally beloved and often read aloud to the pupils. When he went away to become editor of the Kennebec Journal, we felt that we had lost a man of large parts, and we have watched his upward career with great interest. Yes, indeed, we're all for Blaine here. He has called here a number of times when he stopped in the city on his way to and from Washington. The last time he was here he heard with great interest of the progress of D. D. Wood, the blind organist of St. Stephen's Church, who was one of his pupils, and recalled Mr. Wood's proficiency in mathematics."

Three persons now holding positions in the institution, Michael M. Williams, William McMillan and Miss Maria Cormany, were pupils under Mr. Blaine. Mr. Williams said of him : "Everybody loved Mr. Blaine and his wife. Both were always ready to do anything for our amusement in leisure hours, and we had a great deal of fun, into which they entered heartily. I think that Mrs. Blaine read nearly all of Dickens' works aloud to us, and Mr. Blaine used to make us roar with laughter by reading out of a book entitled 'Charcoal Sketches.' In the evenings he used to sit under the gaslight, reading aloud to both the boys and girls. Then we would wind up with a spelling bee. Sometimes Mr. Blaine would give out the words and sometimes one of the big boys would do it, while Mr. Blaine stood up among the boys. Then we would have great fun trying to 'spell the teacher down.' "

CHAPTER VII.

Removal to Maine.—Beginning of his Editorial Career.—His Political Position.—The Kennebec Journal.—Leading Thought Concerning the Organization of the Republican Party.—State Issues.—Slavery.—Wise Sayings.—Drawn into Local Politics.

In 1854 Blaine moved to Augusta, Maine, the former home of his wife, and having an opportunity given him to enter into editorial-work, he quickly and eagerly availed himself of it. Joseph Baker, a lawyer of Augusta, desired a partner in the purchase and management of the Kennebec Journal, a weekly newspaper, published at Augusta, with tri-weekly editions during the sessions of the Maine Legislature. In Blaine a suitable business associate was found, and the name of "Baker & Blaine" appeared at the head of the columns. At that time Blaine's influence and ability entered the high road to fame and greatness. New ambitions and new hopes dawned for him. The latent powers of his mind and character, which awaited such an occasion to display themselves, then began to be seen and understood. It is the almost universal verdict of journalists, who have had experience in both fields, that it is far more difficult, and requires far more ability to successfully conduct a country paper, or one in a small city, than to manage one in some great metropolitan center. The eccentric, independent, intelligent people in a New England village, will criticise with less mercy, and more accuracy, than the wealthy subscribers of a city, who read in haste, and have no care

for grammatical errors or minor discrepancies of statement. The editor and preacher who can successfully stem the current in a New England village, will have no trouble to win his way in the city. In the country towns there are only so many constituents, and one must satisfy them all to pay his way on their patronage, while in the city any man of decided opinions, or harsh eccentricities, will call to himself like a magnet, out of the thousands, all who have an affinity for him. Men could succeed politically and socially in New York or London, who would make a miserable failure in Augusta.

Blaine was personally known to every man in the city before he had been in the editorial chair for a week. The editorials and news of his paper would be the subject of talk in the shops, the drawing-rooms, the schools, and the sewing-circles. His editorials must be very brief, and, if of any use, must be directly to the point. If he misquoted, or misstated, or lacked good judgment, or fairness, he would be mercilessly ridiculed in the social gatherings, and facetiously lampooned on the streets. If he should be lazy, or discourteous, social ostracism and financial ruin inevitably follow.

It is a most interesting study to look back over the files of Blaine's paper, and mark how, day by day, he developed from an unknown stranger, and unsophisticated youth, into the strong writer and able thinker. Until then all his powers were kept in abeyance.

Selections of the following paragraphs from his early editorials and reports will show the bent of his genius.

Speaking of the organization of the Legislature of Maine, in 1855, he said :

"Thus is the great Republican party of Maine fairly inaugurated into power in the Legislative departments of the State, with a popular good will, a prestige of success, and the elements of permanancy such as no party has had since

the birth of our State. Long may it live to protect our interests, develop our resources, and *under all circumstances dare to do right, and trust the consequences to Infinite Wisdom.* Let it be not merely the inauguration of a new party, but the exhaltation of principle above party, and the embodiment of honesty into the administration of the State. Then will the honest and good of all classes rally around it, rejoice in it and perpetuate it."

In one place an unjust and foolish judge is said to have charged the Grand Jury of honest men, that they ought to indite some men of the opposite political party for holding secret meetings, whereupon Blaine quaintly remarks: "The Grand Jury listened to the judge with profound attention, and responded, ahem!"

"There might be some reason in the counsel to compromise where the issue is not one of morals, or is doubtful and undefined, but when asked to compromise with an undisguised, open, hideous wrong like slavery! Never."

"Ought a nation, in strict justice, to be measured by a moral standard different from that which determines the character of a man?"

"All arrows dipped in bad rum or the poison of slander will fall powerless at the moral man's feet."

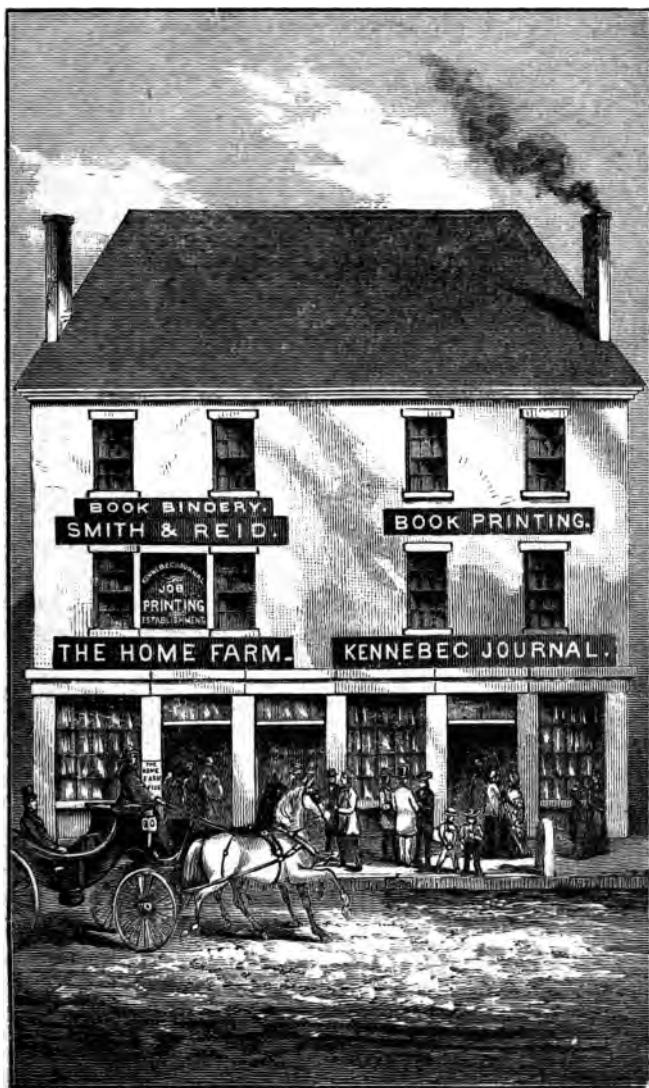
"In the old country, it is said, everybody is trying to find out what his ancestors were *by birth*, instead of what he himself is by nature. This is certainly the fittest way possible to make a fool of any man who has not had the misfortune to be born one."

"Slavery is sectional and temporary, freedom is national and universal."

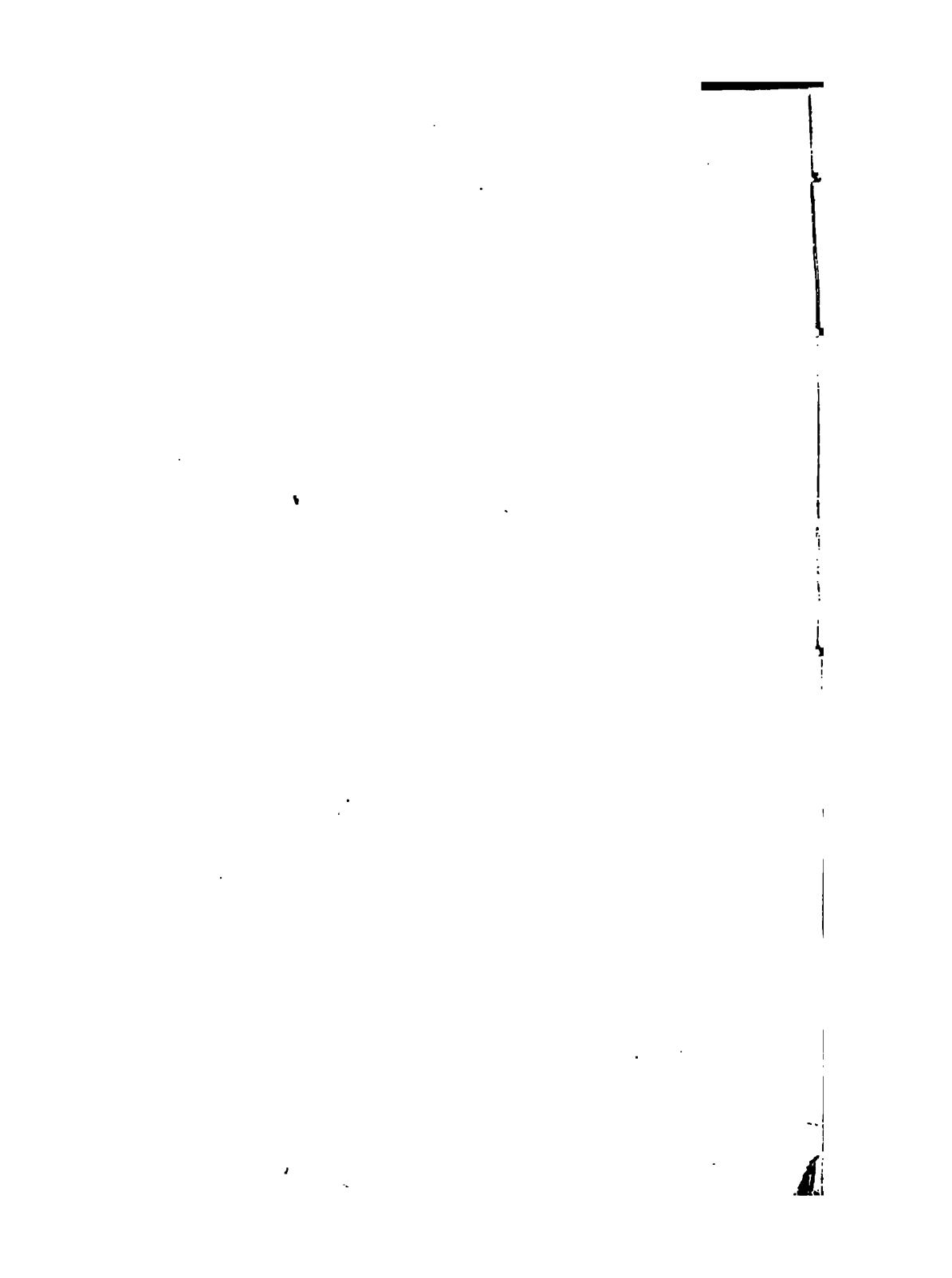
"Always revert to the plain facts, and view them separate from all party and sectional influences."

One or two items like the following extract show that Blaine had to meet the usual local prejudice against "Carpetbaggers."

"In reply to the Collector's fierce onslaught upon our-



KENNEBEC JOURNAL OFFICE. BLAINE, EDITOR, 1854—1857.



selves, we have not a word to offer. We bow our heads, overcome. The charge of being ‘an imported Federalist from a distant State,’ is so grave, so overwhelming that we are crushed; our spirit is gone; anything else we could have endured but to have it said that we are a ‘Federalist,’ aye, and an ‘imported’ one; and imported, too, from a ‘distant’ State, is so cruel, so severe, that we have no courage left!!”

“Treat your farm and your cattle honestly, and you will soon see that ‘honesty is the best policy.’”

“A nation is a home in theory. We are brethren. Rebuking a brother sincerely ought not to diminish love, no matter to what party he belongs.”

Speaking of the rumors of filibustering expeditions to seize and occupy various States of Central America, he said :

“It requires no sagacity to see the origin, cause and design of this movement. It is nothing more and nothing less than planting the seeds of slavery in a congenial climate, where, when they are duly ripened, sundry slave States may be formed, which in due time shall seek annexation to our government, and have their petition enforced by the present Southern States under the threat of the dissolution of the Union.”

In 1855, Anson P. Morrill was chosen Governor by the Legislature. The Maine Law was the issue, and the Journal was its defender.

“We beg to say that the anti-slavery sentiments, which, from our earliest youth, we imbibed in our native Pennsylvania,—the first of the ‘old thirteen,’—to abolish slavery, were deepened and strengthened by a residence among slave-holders; and that nowhere, either on slave soil, or on free soil, have we expressed other feelings than those of decided hostility to the extension of the withering curse.” * * *

“The Southerners despise a Northern traitor; and all organists and apologists of *dough-facery*, after earning the

contempt of freemen at home, have only for consolation the kicks and cuffs of their Southern masters."

Speaking of the proposition to carry slavery into free Kansas:

"Let not the fatal spirit of compromise induce us to acquiesce in past wrongs, because of some promised advantage and security in future. 'Compromise with Slavery' is but another phase of 'Sacrifice of Liberty'; and in the past we have had enough, and more, of that."

Speaking of the outcome of the Republican State Convention in 1855:

"The doctrines of the resolutions may strongly resemble the Whig doctrines of the American Revolution. They may be like the Democratic ideas of Thomas Jefferson. They express the principles and the settled determination of the Republicans of Maine."

"The Republican party can well sustain the loss of the vote of any man who is willing, directly or indirectly, to endorse the administration of President Pierce, with all its measures of infamy."

"The only reliable allies the slaveholders have in this State are the Pierce and Douglas Democrats, the broken and demoralized remnants of that once proud and dominant party which endorsed the Wilmot proviso in 1847, the flower of which has, by principles, courage and numbers, done so much to form the strong and determined Republican party of the State, which is pledged to stand by the interests of liberty and the Union."

"We make it as a sober and well-considered statement, that our country is to-day in greater peril by elements and agencies within her borders, than at the commencement of the Revolution by the plans of the British ministry and the power of British arms. It requires no prophet to decide that the aggressions of the slave power are more dangerous to the freedom and progress of the American people, than the threatened despotism of England in 1775. And what is the most melancholy and shameful, these aggressions have

been invited and vastly strengthened by the treachery and cowardice of men living in the Free States."

"There never existed in the State of Maine such a powerful political organization as the Republican party is to-day. They have shown their mettle in a contest where the fire raged fiercely, and they have come out with banners flying and with words of good cheer from more than 50,000 men. Such a result ought not to be called a defeat; it is rather a glorious triumph, and the sure presage of future and continued victories. If any Republican in the whole State feels the least discouraged, he is not a worthy soldier in the cause."

"The Republican party is the only true National party. Its platform is the only ground upon which the friends of the Union can stand. Its fast-gathering strength is to be the bulwark of the Union against the dangers that thicken around its future. It is the only breakwater against the black tide of despotism that threatens to spread over the whole country. It calls on the nation to return to the policy, the principles, and the maxims of the statesmen who won our liberties, reared the fabric of our government, and gave its first direction. Its principles are broad as the Union. It demands national men, national measures, and is the only truly national party that has the prospect of carrying the country against the sectional, dangerous and corrupt, political organization that now controls the country, to the disgrace of the American name throughout the civilized world."

He had many strong editorials in opposition to the delusion of squatter sovereignty, pleading that this is a nation, and not a confederation of States, held together by a rope of sand.

At near the close of 1855, he wrote:

"The deepening cry from all quarters is, that the White House must be cleansed, and all the channels to and from the same thoroughly renovated. The march of slavery must be stopped, or the nation is lost. Only by the firm and practical union of all true men in the nation can its most valuable interests be preserved. This great question

(the extension of human bondage), which gathers around the gateway of the Northwest, cannot be postponed ; it presses for decision *now*. Other issues may be safely deferred, without loss, but the questions raised by the Missouri Prohibition cannot be deferred. It is often the case with nations, as with individuals, that events of the most weighty and lasting consequences converge on a single point, which cannot be neglected without final loss, beyond the hope of recovery. We have approached *twelve* on the dial of time, beyond which it must not pass before the right course of action is taken, or the result of delay is fatal through long years. He is a puerile trifler, a sneaking dough-face, or a traitor to his country, who wishes to divide or distract the public mind with other political topics and designs, when there is the most pressing need that the true men of the nation should unite to take right and sure action on what is of the utmost importance to the Union."

Of an absurd inauguration prayer in 1856, he wrote :

"Edward Everett, as every one knows, made the *best prayer ever offered to a Boston audience*; and the inauguration prayer is pronounced by all to be incomparably the *best ever addressed to the Senate of Maine.*"

In speaking of the re-election of B. F. Wade to the United States Senate, he says :

"Mr. Wade's re-election is his thorough vindication against the puerile slanders and falsehoods uttered last fall by a reckless and mercenary press, that he is unfriendly to the Union. The great State of Ohio, binding together the Union with strong chains of interest and patriotism, lying alongside the States of slavery, as loyal as any of her sister States, reports in the popular branch of its government unanimously against a petition for dissolution, and shows her devotion to freedom and the national unity in electing by a vote of nearly three to one, a man who stands firmly in defense of the North when her institutions are assailed by the aggressions of slavery. Let this course be followed up by the people, that the boldest and most unshrinking are to be most sustained, and cowardice, and flunkeyism will go down at once in the political market. While all haste and im-

prudence should be avoided, nothing is clearer than that timidity and weakness operate as the miasma of death to a great moral movement, as the cause of freedom has become before the American people. It is an encouraging fact that the Republican party is bringing to its fold the choicest and ablest spirits of the country, and if it will not shrink, nor compromise its principles and true position, is sure to become the dominant and truly conservative party of the Union."

On the address to remove Judge Davis from the Supreme Judicial court :

"The Coalitionists have settled it in a party caucus that *Judge Davis must go off the bench*, and they are as incapable of giving him a fair trial as are bribed jurors to do justice to two parties. No matter what evidence may be submitted to exculpate Judge Davis from the charges laid against him ; no matter how clearly learned counsel may demonstrate that his removal would be a violation of the spirit of the constitution and a precedent of a dangerous and alarming character ; no matter what may be done, or what may be said, what may be proved, or what may be disproved, *Judge Davis must go off the bench*. King Caucus that omnipotent monarch in drilled party organizations, has decreed it, and his obedient subjects must enforce the edict. A formal trial is to be held, but in reality it is a *sham* and a *mockery*."

Between the two champions of Republicanism in Maine, Lot M. Morrill and Hannibal Hamlin, there was in 1857, a rivalry for senatorial honors. Mr. Hamlin, who had been elected Governor the previous fall, was chosen ; Mr. Blaine having espoused his cause. In an editorial on his election Mr. Blaine said :

"The great error of the Northern States has uniformly been, that they fail to continue their Senators and Representatives in Congress, for a sufficiently long period, to become thoroughly conversant with legislative proceedings and to build up that personal influence and weight which avail so much in the defeat or success of every measure that comes before Congress."

Judge Davis had been removed from the Supreme Bench for purely political reasons, by Samuel Wells, Democratic Governor. The columns of Mr. Blaine's paper teemed with the defense of the purity of the Judiciary and, indeed, made it one of the issues that insured the Republican success. Speaking of Judge Davis' removal, Mr. Blaine said :

"The whole proceedings, from its inception to its close, was a bold and reckless piece of political crime, which made a deep stain on the history of the State. It was an attack on the independence of the Judiciary, of the most dangerous and pernicious tendency."

When the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on the Dred Scott case was announced, Blaine wrote :

"Whither do all these things tend? Are we to be a permanently subdued people? We can but regard them as the last turns to the screws of despotism, that presage the mighty uprising and triumph of the people. Slavery has got to the farthest limits, of its power and aggression. Henceforth it must lose in the great contest which it is waging against freedom. The day of truce has gone by; the slaveholders have left the freemen of the nation no other resort but *revolution*—a revolution, if slavery wills it to be no other, only through the peaceful agencies of the press, of public opinion, of religion, and of the ballot box. These aided by time, and the increase of free population, at no distant day, will give us every department of the government, and regain to national freedom, what has been lost by Southern cupidity and Northern treason."

Of course his active promotion of the interests of the Republican party and his zeal in its primitive organization called its attention to him. Being editor of the leading journal, and published also at the capital of the State, the Republican Legislature made it the official organ of the State, and the party cheerfully accepted its leadership.

His personal appearance and manners were so agreeable

and popular that he was almost always nominated by some friend for any important party office which the caucus or convention met to fill. Nearly all these he declined. He did take, after much pressure from friends, the place of delegate to the Republican National Convention of 1856, which nominated Freemont and Dayton, for President and Vice President.

CHAPTER VIII.

Sale of the Kennebec Journal.—The Portland Advertiser.—His Neighbor's Story of his First Candidacy.—His First Speeches.—Defends Augusta.—Domestic Nature.—His Manner of Conversation.—His Generous Donations.—Joins the Congregational Church.—Mission Work among the Lowly.—The old Stanwood Homestead.—Saving the Falling.—Habits as an Editor.—Dealings with his Enemies.—Workman's Story.

Blaine disposed of his interest in the Kennebec Journal Oct. 9th, 1857, to John S. Sayward, of Bangor, Maine, and took a more remunerative and influential position on the Portland Daily Advertiser.

But his three years of editorial life, notwithstanding his decided political opinions, were years of accumulation, both in friends and property. He was moral, economical, generous, and industrious. Faithful friends took him into their confidence, and as a citizen and social companion, he was welcome to every fireside. The best test of any man's character is the estimation of him among his neighbors whose intercourse with him is a daily matter, and it would be unwise in writing history to overlook that important source of trustworthy information.

One of Mr. Blaine's neighbors in Augusta, a man highly respected and holding a local official position of great responsibility, wrote some incidents of Mr. Blaine's life which apply so largely to the period of his life as an editor, that we insert them entire:

"Mr. Blaine first entered political life in 1858, as rep-

representative in the Legislature from Augusta, at the age of twenty-eight years, the people here early recognizing his ability as a leader. He entered this with great timidity, and hesitation. One of the leaders of the party often related how the future great man one evening took him by the arm, and they walked the retired streets of the city consulting in regard to his candidacy, Mr. Blaine expressing great hesitancy in accepting the position so clearly marked out by his fellow-citizens. This is characteristic of the man. Although impetuous in nature, courageous and fearless, he was always extremely cautious in choosing his position. After being selected, he was not to be driven from it.

"His fame as a debater, which culminated on the floor of Congress, began in the Maine House. His newspaper experience gave him the valuable and ever available power of conciseness of thought. He never made a speech too long to be read, and never spoke longer than the people wanted to hear him.

"His first, great triumph in debate was won on the floor of the Maine House, in the winter of 1862, with Hon. E. K. Smart, of Camden, on a national question, when he held up Smart's Congressional career to show his wavering position. Many to this day who witnessed the remarkable scene, will remember the black book of fate (the Congressional Record), which Blaine held up to Smart's blanched face, and from which he quoted at will. From that beginning Blaine became the leader of his party in Maine, as Smart, who was afterwards Democratic candidate for Governor, and took the stump in his own behalf, had abundant reason to know.

"When Augusta was struggling to increase her population by adding to her manufactures, the issue was squarely made between the friends of progress, represented by the Republican party, and those who desired to keep Augusta a way-station, Mr. Blaine's powers were enlisted at once, as they could always be depended upon in a local emergency. At one of the largest meetings ever held at Granite Hall, he delivered a speech, burdened with statistics, showing great familiarity with the city's finances and entire municipal affairs, as well as familiarity with the success of manufactures elsewhere.

"That speech, so full of statistical matter, was prepared the day previous, the original manuscript put into the printer's hands for 'copy,' and the speech delivered entirely from memory. He has often told me that a figure, or cluster of figures, fixed in his mind, are there forever. It is needless to say, this measure was carried.

"This very last season the question came up whether a fixed valuation should be placed upon the property of the largest manufacturing company in our midst—the real issue being, whether a liberal policy should continue it here, or a penurious one drive it away. Mr. Blaine was at home resting. The hearts of the people again turned towards him in a contest that appeared extremely close, and which greatly excited the people. Attention to national affairs had not disengaged his mind from local interests, and in a speech which fairly electrified the vast audience, he carried his point, and saved to the city its controlling manufacturing interest.

"Mr. Blaine's popularity in Augusta is not altogether because of his National reputation, but of his real, practical work and usefulness as a citizen. He has bridged over many difficulties with his great ability.

"Mr. Blaine delights in the excitement attending a political campaign. Although drawing large audiences wherever he goes, as the people know that 'Blaine always says something,' he is most successful in the actual planning of a campaign, and setting others to work. But he is most happy on the stump, without being embarrassed with the details of a canvass. Have often heard him say, 'When I take the stump I immediately begin to gain in flesh, and strength, and courage.' He would speak with the greatest ease twice a day, and would think nothing of riding across the country forty miles from one appointment to another. He would much rather, in these campaign tours, stop in some obscure family mansion than at the public house. Sensible that all power in a republic is lodged in the people, his ambition was to get as near the people as possible. And this he did without assuming that objectionable, patronizing air, so common among little great men. In the cabins of the poor, in the cottage of the laboring man, in the workshop, where the wheels of machinery are humming, wherever man earns

his daily bread by the sweat of his brow, there Mr. Blaine enters, and is ever welcome. Once seeing a person, and conversing with him, the face and form, the lineage, the family history and characteristics of the individual are henceforth impressed upon his mind, to be recalled at will by his great memory. ‘How did he know me, and how did he know events in my life which I myself have forgotten? What a wonderful man he is!’ said one, enthusiastically turning away from an interview. ‘How in the world did he know I had a sister Mary, who married a Jones?’ inquired another. This wonderful memory of faces and family history has been a great help to Mr. Blaine in his public career.

“While most engaging and fascinating in conversation, he always approaches a man on the topic which will most interest the individual addressed. On religious subjects he is perfectly at home, with a sharply defined system of belief and profound knowledge, showing deep research into the theological discussions. Was it a plain farmer who sought an interview? He would go over with him the prospects of the crops, the kind and amount of fertilizers used, the price of farm wages, and all the matters relating to farm and home industry. And so of every occupation or profession, his knowledge being so varied and general as to enable him to touch men at the most susceptible points. A well-known horse dealer called upon Mr. Blaine to negotiate the sale of a horse. The conversation at once turned upon horses. Mr. Blaine gave the names of all the noted horses, the best time they had made, the track on which it was accomplished, the date of the achievement, and even the name of the driver. The horseman came away thunderstruck. ‘Gracious!’ exclaimed he, ‘That man knows everything!’ A Democrat before, he ever afterwards voted the Republican ticket, out of pure admiration for Mr. Blaine.

“Mr. Blaine’s gifts to charitable and benevolent operations have been most liberal, while his contributions to the educational funds of colleges and seminaries of learning have been munificent. All he wanted to know was how much was wanted, and his check was made out immediately. A certain doctor of divinity, an inveterate beggar, called once when Mr. B. was engaged in conversation with another

gentleman. He excused himself, and cordially greeting the doctor with an extended hand, inquired: 'How large shall the check be, this time, doctor?' He has contributed directly to the erection and support of nearly every church in the city. This is certainly true of all the church edifices built during his residence here. His purse strings are untied at every appeal. 'How much is needed?' has ever been his inquiry, and not 'how little will do?' His giving has not been confined to public libraries, schools, church bells, and other public objects, but many a widow's heart, and many a desolate home has been made to rejoice on account of his noble benefactions. Occasionally the report of a large gift would find its way into the newspapers, but those the most appreciated the world never knew. But one other man in the State has been his equal in the matter of giving—Mr. Blaine's much loved friend, ex-Gov. Abner Coburn of Skowhegan. People have misjudged Mr. Blaine's wealth by this very trait of liberal giving. Measured by that, by the ordinary tests, he ought to have been worth his millions; but, knowing him intimately, it is my opinion that he never saw the time when he could count a million dollars as all his own.

"Twenty-seven years ago Mr. Blaine became a member of the Congregational Church in this city, then under the pastorate of Rev. Dr. Webb, now of Boston. While a firm believer in the doctrines of that communion, he is broad and liberal in his practices and affiliations, being willing to tolerate even Bob Ingersol, with all his vagaries. There is not the taint of narrow religious partizanship or bigotry about him. He has the heart, and soul, and life of an everyday, practical Christian. He early espoused the Sunday-school cause. Nearly thirty years ago, 'Peoples' Hall' and its vicinity was the 'Devil's half-acre' of Augusta. It was a place where doubtful characters congregated and low dances were held. The church established there a mission Sunday-school, and Mr. Blaine had a class of men and women who had scarcely ever entered a church, and who were gathered in from the highways, and who came in their shirt sleeves, some laying aside their pipes and tobacco, and some having about them the fumes of liquor. Mr. Blaine would prepare himself for his class with the same care as a

lawyer would prepare a case for the courts. There was inspiration and power in his teaching. His exposition of the Sacred Word was clear, lucid and convincing, and he led many a miserable creature up from the slums of their daily thought and living to the pure and bracing atmosphere of a higher life. The entire moral atmosphere of 'Peoples' Hall' and its surroundings were changed. I met, not long since, a gentleman who was a member of that large Sunday-school class of Mr. Blaine's, and, who was rescued, by his efforts, from a worthless life. Said he : 'Not a day passes but I bless the name of Blaine. The words he uttered long years ago, in that Sunday-school class, ring in my ears to-day.'

"Mr. Blaine began housekeeping in Augusta in the old-fashioned homestead on Green Street, under the ancestral elms, formerly owned by the Stanwood family. The house was built nearly a hundred years ago. He occupied the east tenement, of some seven rooms, and lived in a very humble and unostentatious manner. One domestic attended to the household duties, which were always under the personal supervision of Mrs. Blaine, who added to her other accomplishments that of being an excellent housekeeper. And here, within the charmed circle of his home, Mr. Blaine was at his very best. He never undertook the slightest care or responsibility concerning the management of household affairs ; was always glad to have some one else assume that. Apprentices in the printing office boarded at his house, and he and Mrs. B. were to them a father and mother in all the kindly relations and ministries expected from parents. One young man, of impulsive temperament, gave the family considerable solicitude, on account of keeping late hours, coming home habitually after the other members of the family had retired for the night, and sometimes under the influence of liquor. Mr. Blaine resolved to save that young man if possible. He didn't begin by trying to reform him with a club in the side of the head, but he gently persuaded him into the better way. Being himself a thoroughly temperance man, not keeping in his house even the lightest wines, he could talk to the young man from the correct moral standpoint. He, who was being led on to ruin, became a *man*, and is now one of the most successful business

men in the State, and rejoices in every prospect of the privilege of voting for Mr. Blaine.

"Mr. Blaine had no special room assigned as his study, but the dining-room was his editorial-room, where the able leaders, and sharp replies to contemporaries, were written. The meal over, and the cloth removed, Mr. Blaine would bring out his huge sheets of paper, and begin his editorials. His handwriting is bold and pronounced. He never writes or marks proof with a pencil. He never rewrites, but the changes and interlineations are 'just dreadful.' While weaving the thread of his article, he is entirely oblivious of all that is passing about him. He 'thinks upon his feet,' pacing the floor before submitting his thoughts to paper. Very little of his editorial-work was done at the Journal office. When there, he looked over the newspapers, exchanged cheerful and helpful words with the compositors at the case, and, above all, met his political friends, imbibed their views, and replenished his material for future editorial-work. The inside 'form' of the paper was never made up without his personal supervision. He would stand by the foreman and dictate the position of every article, from the leader down to the most trivial three-line item. He was so greedy of space, and so anxious to give his readers the largest possible amount of reading, that he frequently had columns of matter left over.

"Mr. Blaine is the most persistent and tireless worker I ever knew. His ability to stand the strain of intense work, without apparent weariness, is accounted for by the fact that he is careful of his diet, takes plenty of sleep, and reasonable exercise.

"Nothing malignant about his nature. Absolutely without malice. Will reward an enemy sooner than punish him. If a man should fight him bitterly to-day, he would be just as likely to do him a favor to-morrow. This has been a source of great annoyance to his steadfast friends.

"Had he entered the pulpit, instead of the political arena, there would not have been his equal in the profession in the country. Had he chosen a business life, his wealth would have equaled that of Vanderbilt."

To which may be added this from another neighbor :

"A little incident that I noticed fully illustrates the man. A young man was carrying from the chamber of the new part of his house, a barrel filled with shavings down a ladder (the stairs had not been built then), the foot of which was obstructed by a lot of rubbish, and some boxes had been so placed on one side as to make temporary steps for the last four or five feet. Mr. Blaine was standing back to the ladder conversing with some one, when the young man, miscalculating his position, instead of stepping on one of the boxes as he intended to, stepped square on Mr. Blaine's shoulder. Mr. Blaine stood like a soldier at his post, and when the fellow began to apologize, Mr. Blaine's reply was, 'Oh, never mind, I never step out from under any one who depends on me for support.' But I should suppose Mr. Blaine had forgotten all about that long ago, only that he seems to remember everything but his enemies, if he ever had any."

CHAPTER IX.

Beginning of Political Life.—His First Office.—His Maiden Speech.—Election to the Legislature.—His Great Diffidence. Compelled to Speak.—Development of Genius.—His Great Speech on Confiscation in 1862.—Opening Fame as a National Man.

The practical beginning of Blaine's political career was in 1856, when he was elected a delegate to the Republican National Convention, although his name appears as one of the secretaries of a Republican mass meeting in Augusta, Aug. 22, 1855. He was but twenty-six years of age, still exceedingly diffident and unable calmly to face the smallest audience. It is instructive to all and especially encouraging, to talented but bashful young men, to read an account by an eye-witness of the reception given the delegation on their return from the Convention. The writer said that :

“Among the interesting earlier incidents of Mr. Blaine's political career, was his election as a delegate from the third Congressional district to the first Republican National Convention, in May, 1856, which nominated Gen. John C. Freemont to the Presidency. Upon his return from the convention a ratification meeting was held in Meonian Hall, Augusta, and upon the urgent insistence of some of his personal friends he was persuaded, reluctantly, to appear upon the platform and make report of the doings of the Convention. This was his first public effort. He was then twenty-six years of age. Although remarkably ready and easy of speech and holding a practiced and powerful pen, he had an

almost unconquerable repugnance to letting his voice be heard, except in familiar conversation where his brilliant powers of statement and argument, his marvelous memory of dates and events in political history, and his acquaintance with, and keen estimate of the public men and parties of the day, were the delight and wonder of all who listened to him. The writer well recalls the trepidation, at once painful and ludicrous with which he rose to address the meeting. In confronting the sea of faces, almost every one of whom was known to him, he seemed to be struggling to master the terror that possessed him. He turned pale and red by turns, and almost tottering to the front, stood trembling until the generous applause which welcomed him had died away, when, by a supreme effort he broke the spell, at first by the utterance of some hesitating words of greeting and thanks, and then gathering confidence, went on with a speech which stirred the audience as with the sound of a trumpet, and held all present in breathless interest and attention to its close. From that moment Mr. Blaine took rank among the most effective popular speakers of the day; but it may be doubted if among the many matured efforts of his genius and eloquence upon the political platform or the legislative tribune, he has ever excited an audience to a more passionate enthusiasm or left a profounder impression upon the minds and hearts of his hearers.

It is very pleasant to recall the fact that the writer, upon the occasion referred to, in offering his congratulations to the youthful debutant, predicted for him great success and eminence in public life. He must acknowledge, however, that it never entered his prophetic head, that he should himself live long enough to have the proud privilege of taking by the hand again the old friend of nearly a third of a century, now grown gray in the love and service of his country—honored and exalted by her for that love and service—and congratulate him upon his nomination to the highest post of public duty in the gift of that country, by the great party of which he was one of the fathers and founders."

In the fall election of 1858, Blaine was elected to the lower House of the Maine Legislature, after the most per-

sistent urging of his friends to accept the nomination. He was still unable to overcome his extreme trepidation before an audience and his appearance during the local canvass was rare and his speeches exceedingly brief. Such as he did venture upon were written out in full and memorized. Committing to memory, however, with Mr. Blaine, was a very easy matter. His memory was then, and ever has been, a marvel.

He began his Legislative life modestly and quietly. But the appearance of questions intimately connected with the welfare of his constituents, and attacks made upon the party he had assisted into being, compelled him as a conscientious servant of his people, to stand and speak. Such discipline was all that he needed. Genius for statesmanship was there. Talents lay sleeping in his soul. To awaken them was all he required.

After he had served one term there was no question with any one but that he could be re-elected so long as he wished. He had an intelligent, appreciative, grateful constituency. They knew when they were faithfully served, and he had satisfied them wholly.

Four times he was elected to the Legislature, and at the beginning of his third term he was elected Speaker of the Maine House of Representatives and re-elected the following year. Those were eventful years in the history of the Nation and State.

Blaine was instinctively recognized as a leader and found himself in a most responsible position. As an editor through the summer months and a legislator through the winter his whole life became centered on public affairs and the nation's good.

In the session of 1862, when the war and its dreadful consequences agitated the Nation beyond description, Blaine was Speaker of the House. But in a committee of the

whole he made a speech which has never been forgotten, and which set him before the people as a National man and secured doubtless his election the next year to Congress. The speech was made in reply to Mr. Gould, of Thomaston, on the Confiscation Resolve, and a full report of it was published in all the papers of that time. The perusal of it by the reader will give a far better idea of Blaine's talents and peculiarities than any description which might be given. It was delivered March 7th, 1862.

The following resolutions were passed by the Senate of Maine, on the 7th of February, 1862, by yeas 24, nays 4.

STATE OF MAINE.

RESOLVES RELATING TO NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

Resolved, That we cordially endorse the administration of Abraham Lincoln in the conduct of the war against the wicked and unnatural enemies of the Republic, and that in all its measures calculated to crush this rebellion speedily and finally, the administration is entitled to and will receive the unwavering support of the loyal people of Maine.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress, by such means as will not jeopard the rights and safety of the loyal people of the South, to provide for the confiscation of estates, real and personal, of rebels, and for the forfeiture and liberation of every slave claimed by any person who shall continue in arms against the authority of the United States, or who shall in any manner aid and abet the present wicked and unjustifiable rebellion.

Resolved, That in this perilous crisis of the country, it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional power to "raise and support armies," to provide by law for accepting the services of all able-bodied men of whatever status, and to employ these men in such manner as military necessity and the safety of the Republic may demand.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State, and that they be respectfully requested to use all honorable means to secure the passage of acts embodying their spirit and substance.

The Resolutions were sent to the House for concurrence, and were there referred to the Committee of the Whole. On the 6th and 7th of March, Mr. Gould, of Thomaston, made an elaborate argument against them. At the conclusion of his remarks he was replied to by Blaine, in the annexed speech. The Resolutions were subsequently adopted by the House in concurrence with the Senate, by yeas 104, nays 26.

Mr. Chairman: The first hour of the seven which the gentleman from Thomaston has consumed I shall pass over with scarcely a comment. It was addressed almost exclusively, and in violation of parliamentary rules, to personal matters between himself and a distinguished citizen from the same section, lately the Gubernatorial Candidate of the Democratic party, and now representing the County of Knox in the other branch of the Legislature (Col. Smart). With that quarrel, here or elsewhere, it would be unseemly for me to meddle, and without intending disrespect to either gentleman, I may quote the Grub Street couplet, apt if not elegant, as illustrating my position :

"For the matter of that I don't care a toss up,
Whether Mossup kicks Barry or Barry kicks Mossup."

And at the game of "kicking," I warn the gentleman from Thomaston, from my own past observation, that he will find the Senator from Knox quite as valiant an adversary as he will care to encounter. Without further delay on matters personal, I proceed sir, to the discussion of what I may term the inestimably important question submitted to the judgment of this Legislature.

I shall best make myself understood, and perhaps most intelligibly respond to the argument of the gentleman from Thomaston, by discussing the question in its two phases : first as to the power of Congress to adopt the measures conceived in the pending Resolutions ; and secondly as to the expediency of adopting them. And at the very outset, I find between the gentleman from Thomaston and myself, a most radical difference as to the "War Power" of the Constitution ; its origin, its extent, and the authority which

shall determine its action, direct its operation, and fix its limit. He contends, and he spent some four or five hours in attempting to prove, that the war power in this Government is lodged wholly in the Executive, and in describing his almost endless authority he piled Ossa on Pelion until he had made the President under the war power perfectly despotic, with all prerogatives and privileges concentrated in his own person—and then to end the tragedy with a farce, with uplifted hands he reverently thanked God that Abraham Lincoln was not an ambitious villain (like some of his Democratic predecessors, I presume) to use this power, trample on the liberties of the nation, erect a throne for himself, and thus add another to the list of usurpers that have disfigured the world's history. That was precisely the line of the gentleman's logic—first stripping all the other departments of their proper and constitutional power, heaping it all on the President and then thanking God that the President does not rule as the caprices of tyranny might dictate! Could argumentative nonsense go farther?

I dissent from these conclusions of the gentleman. I read the Federal Constitution differently! I read in the most pregnant and suggestive section of that immortal charter that certain "powers" are declared to belong to Congress. I read therein that "Congress shall have power" among other large grants of authority, "to provide for the common defense;" that it shall have power "to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;" that it shall have power to "raise and support armies," to "provide and maintain a navy," and to "make rules for the government of the land and naval forces;" and as though these powers were not sufficiently broad and general, the section concludes in its eighteenth subdivision, by declaring that Congress shall have power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and *all* other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof." Mark that—"in any department or officer thereof!"

Such are the large grants of war power made specifically to Congress in the Federal Constitution; and to show

you that these grants were understood to be of indefinite extent, bounded and limited only by the law of necessity, I shall quote an authority which for three-quarters of a century has received the undivided respect of the nation—an authority which has been venerated and accepted by all the most eminent Constitutional lawyers of our country, from Chief Justice Marshall, the greatest of our earlier jurists, to Daniel Webster, the greatest of all. I refer to the writings of Alexander Hamilton in the Federalist. In the twenty-third number of that great work, Mr. Hamilton discusses the very question at issue here to-day in reference to the power of the government to defend and preserve "the public peace against internal convulsions" as well as "external attacks." Speaking of the power to provide for the "common defense" specifically declared in the Constitution itself, as I have above quoted, "to be a Congressional power," Mr. Hamilton says:

"The authorities essential to the care of the common defense, are these: to raise armies; to build and equip fleets; to prescribe rules for the government of both; to direct their operations; to provide for their support. These powers ought to exist without limitation; because it is impossible to foresee or to define the extent and variety of national exigencies, and the correspondent extent and variety of the means which may be necessary to satisfy them. The circumstances that endanger the safety of nations are infinite; and for this reason, no constitutional shackles can wisely be imposed on the power to which the care of it is committed. This power ought to be co-extensive with all the possible combinations of such circumstances, and ought to be under the direction of the same councils which are appointed to preside over the common defense.

"This is one of those truths which, to a correct and unprejudiced mind, carries its own evidence along with it; and may be obscured, but cannot be made plainer by argument or reasoning. It rests upon axioms, as simple as they are universal—the means ought to be proportioned to the end; the persons from whose agency the attainment of any end is expected, ought to possess the means by which it is to be attained.

. . . And unless it can be shown, that the circumstances

which may affect the public safety, are reducible with certain determinate limits ; unless the contrary of this position can be fairly and rationally disputed, it must be admitted as a necessary consequence that there can be no limitation of that authority, which is to provide for the defense and protection of the community, in any matter essential to its efficacy."

The great respect due to the quotation I have just made, comes in the first place from the eminent character of the man who wrote it. It gives an enhanced force from the fact that the author assisted in framing the Constitution whose meaning he was so clearly expounding ; and in the third place it is of especial value from the circumstance that it was written pending the adoption of the Constitution, and as an inducement to the people to ratify it. It is to be noted, moreover, that Mr. Hamilton was the acknowledged leader of the Federal party of that day—a party accused, and perhaps justly, of wishing to vest all the power possible in the hands of the President ; and yet this Prince of Federalists concedes, or rather I should say specifically asserts, that the principles on which any war shall be conducted, whether against "internal convulsions" or "external attack," shall be determined by Congress.

And I beg you further to observe, Mr. Chairman, that at the very time Mr. Hamilton was penning and publishing the words I have quoted, Patrick Henry, the leading spirit of the Republicans, who opposed the Federal Constitution, and who wellnigh succeeded in defeating the adoption of that instrument in Virginia, stood up in the Convention of that State, and in a speech of such power as only he could command, grounded his opposition on the fact that this large grant of power was made to Congress. And he appealed with vehement warmth to the slaveholding interests, then, as now, so sensitive as to its presumed rights and dangers, warming them, and bidding them remember that in certain exigencies, "Congress could under the Constitution, abolish slavery in all the

, Mr. Chairman, as contemporaneous exponent of the Constitution, the expressed opinions of the most eminent and a leading Republican of that era—a

leading supporter and a leading opponent—both eminent, both honest, the one supporting, the other opposing, for precisely the same reasons—an agreement of testimony as marked as it is conclusive.

At the origin of our government, Mr. Chairman, the people were jealous of their liberties; they gave power guardedly and grudgingly to their rulers; they were hostile, above all things, to what is termed the *one-man* power, and you cannot but observe with what peculiar care they provided against the abuse of the war power. For after giving Congress the power “to declare war, and “to raise and support armies,” they added in the Constitution these remarkable and emphatic words, “but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years,” which is precisely the period for which the Representatives in the popular branch are chosen. Thus, sir, this power was not given to Congress simply, but in effect it was given to the House of Representatives; the people placing it where they could lay their hands directly upon it at every biennial election, and say “yes” or “no” to the principles or policy of any war. And it is worthy of note that this popular control is secured at every corner and through every loophole of the Constitution; for not only do the people in their primary capacity, by direct suffrage, elect their Representatives every two years, but in a case of a vacancy happening, no power, save that of the people themselves is able to fill it. If vacancy happens in the Senate, the Governor of a State may appoint a successor till the Legislature meet, but if it occur “in the representation of any State” the Constitution simply declares that the executive authority of such State “shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancy,” leaving to the people directly the choice of the Representative. It is moreover declared in the Constitution, “that all bills for revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives,” thus giving again to popular control the power of the “purse,” which is superior to the power of the “sword,” as without, the sword has “neither force nor edge.” Talk, sir, as the gentleman from Thomaston has, for so many hours, about the war power being lodged exclusively in the President! Why such an assertion is the acme of nonsense. Without the assent of Congress there can be no war, and

Congress can stop the war at any moment it chooses. Without the assent of Congress, and the supply of money by Congress, your quartermaster can give you no transportation; your commissary cannot issue a ration; your chief of ordnance cannot furnish a cartridge; your paymaster cannot give a private a single month's wages. As the House of Commons, sir, in England controls the aristocratic Chamber of Lords, and holds in check the power of the Throne, by having the exclusive right to originate "supply bills," so, sir, our House of Representatives, through the right to originate bills of revenue, causes the fresh and vigorous voice of the people to be heard against the long-tenured power of Senators and the individual wishes of the Executive. And in attempting to strip the Representative branch of this, its rightful prerogative, and the thousand incidental powers derived from it, and through it, the gentleman from Thomaston has aimed to curtail the power of the people, and to give to the whims and preferences it may be, of a single man, what was intended to be, and must of right continue to be, for the arbitrament and deliberate decision of the people of the entire nation.

In all that I am thus maintaining in regard to the supreme war power of Congress, I make no conflict between that and the Executive power, which in war, as well as in all matters of civil administration, belongs to the President. The question at issue between the gentleman from Thomaston and myself is not whether the President has power of great magnitude in the conduct of a war, for that I readily admit, or rather I stoutly affirm; but the point at issue is, which is superior in authority, Congress or the President? I think I have shown that the Constitution vests the supreme unlimited power in Congress, and that the President must obey the direction of Congress, as the chief executive officer of the nation, and at the same time he must be held accountable for the mode in which his subordinate officers execute the trusts confided to them. There can be no confusion of ideas as to the proper metes and bounds of this authority, and I am quite sure that this war will progress to a successful conclusion, without the conflict of authority under discussion being even once practically developed. I need say no more on this point than simply to introduce an illustration

of how the power of Congress is felt in prescribing rules "for the government of the land and naval forces." Until quite recently many of the commanding generals have been in the habit of returning fugitive slaves that sought refuge in their camps. Congress considering such a practice to be a scandal on our civilization, has just directed that it shall cease, and the President, as the executive officer of the nation, is charged with the enforcement of the will of Congress in the premises. With that conclusive example of the exercise of Congressional power, which I have been discussing, I leave this branch of the subject.

Mr. Chairman, upon an analysis of the different positions held by the gentleman from Thomaston and myself, on the various questions suggested by the resolves under discussion, I find that after proper elimination the points at issue may fairly be reduced to two. The first, as to wherein the war power of the Government is lodged, has been examined, and I have attempted to demonstrate that the Constitution vests it in Congress. I shall have more to say on this topic as I progress in my remarks. The other point at issue has reference to the relations that now exist between the Government of the United States and the so-called Confederate States.

The gentleman from Thomaston has quoted the Treason clause of the Constitution, and has elaborately argued that the armed rebels in the South have still the full right to the protection of property guaranteed therein, and that any confiscation of their property or estates by any other process than is there laid down would be unconstitutional. I am endeavoring to state the position of the gentleman with entire candor, as I desire to meet this argument throughout in that spirit. I maintain, sir, in opposition to this view, that we derive the right to confiscate the property and liberate the slaves of rebels from a totally different source. I maintain that to-day we are in a state of civil war,—civil war, too, of the most gigantic proportions. And I think it will strike this House as a singular and most significant confession of the unsoundness of the gentleman's argument, that to sustain his position he had to deny that we are engaged in civil war at all. He stated, much to the amusement of the House, I think, that it was not a civil war because Jeff

Davis was not seeking to wrest the Presidential chair from Abraham Lincoln, but simply to carry off a portion of the Union in order to form a separate government. Pray, sir, is not Abraham Lincoln the rightful President of the whole country and of all the States, and is it not interfering as much with his constitutional prerogative to dispute his authority in Georgia or Louisiana as it would be to dispute it in Maine or Pennsylvania? Could absurdity go farther than the gentleman has carried it in taking this ridiculous position? Sir, what constitutes a civil war? That is settled by International Law; and I am but repeating a principal familiar to every schoolboy when I read from Vattel the following pertinent declarations which I venture to say were never disputed and never will be by any one except the gentleman from Thomaston:

"When a party is formed in a State, which no longer obeys the sovereign, and is of a strength sufficient to make head against him; or when, in a republic, the nation is divided into two opposite factions, and both sides takes arms, this is called civil war. . . . The sovereign indeed never fails to term rebels all subjects openly resisting him; but when these become of strength sufficient to oppose him, so that he finds himself compelled to make war regularly on them, he must be contented with the term civil war."

And as we are engaged in civil war what is the result? Why simply that the contest must be carried on as between foreign parties, and on that point I again quote Vattel:

"Whenever a numerous party thinks it has a right to resist the sovereign, and finds itself able to declare that opinion sword in hand, the war is to be carried on between them in the same manner as between two different nations."

And I maintain, sir, that to-day we are practicing precisely on that principle. On what other ground do we send back thousands of traitors taken with arms in their hands, as exchanged prisoners, instead of indicting, trying and hanging them? On what other ground are we continually receiving and sending flags of truce? On what other ground did that arrant traitor Howell Cobb come down only last week to Fortress Monroe and hold a parley with General Wool as to a systematic exchange of prisoners? On what

other ground do we blockade their ports? On what other ground were we compelled, with no little humiliation, to give up Slidell and Mason? On what other ground did President Lincoln but a few days since order that the scoundrels taken from the piratical privateers of Jeff Davis should be removed from Moyamensing Jail and treated as prisoners of war? This, Sir, was the last as it was the greatest concession, and it leaves us to-day in the attitude of practically conceding, without formally granting, to the so-called Confederate States the same rights of war that we would accord to any belligerent power, and I understand the gentleman from Thomaston to approve this course? (Mr. Gould nodded assent.) And yet, Mr. Chairman, while giving to these armed traitors all these rights and immunities, the gentleman tells you that Congress shall not authorize the confiscation of the property or the liberation of the slaves of a single rebel except by "due process of law." In other words, the gentleman gives to the traitors the protection of belligerents outside or independent of the Constitution, and of loyal citizens inside or under the Constitution at one and the same time. And he denies the right of our Government to proceed against them by virtue of any rights acquired from the belligerent attitude of the parties, or indeed, to quote his exact words, in any mode than by "due process of law." In other words, the gentleman gives every advantage to the rebels and imposes every disability on the Federal Government, and in assuming this ground I charge the gentleman with having advocated the cause of Jeff Davis just as effectually as though he had appeared here as his avowed champion with a retainer in his pocket from that Prince of Rebels. Sir, I am in favor of conducting this contest effectively and honorably; and I perceive and think I appreciate the policy which our government, however reluctantly, has adopted in carrying on hostilities with the ordinary usages and principles of war. Indeed, after the rebellion assumed its colossal proportions it was quite impossible to do otherwise without encountering numberless and insuperable embarrassments. All that I ask, sir, is that we shall have as good as we give, and that since we are forced to treat these rebels as public enemies and incur all the disadvantages resulting therefrom, we shall at least have the cor-

responding advantages that logically pertain to our position, and shall in consequence thereof exercise and enforce the rights of war against the so-called Confederates so long as the state of war continues.

Of course this position does not imply that the only rights we have against these rebels are those of belligerence or war; nor does it exclude us from asserting the higher rights of sovereignty whenever they can be made effective. By no means. Even the sweeping quotation I have made from Vattel is restricted by the same writer in a clause immediately following, to the time during which the war continues. That celebrated author is careful to state, and I quote his exact language, that the sovereign authority "*having conquered the opposite party and reduced it to sue for peace, may except from the amnesty the authors of the trouble and the heads of the party; may bring them to a legal trial, and on conviction punish them.*" So that by the law of nations and the law of common sense, we have as against the rebels the rights both of belligerence and sovereignty—the latter class of rights being incapable of enforcement at present, and so remaining until they are vindicated and re-established through the rights and powers of belligerence. In addition to the authority of Vattel, which I have quoted, I am glad to be able to refer to a very recent opinion from one of the most eminent Constitutional lawyers in New England, in support of my position. I refer to a decision of Judge Sprague in a recent prize case in the U. S. District Court in Boston. That eminent jurist laid it down as an indisputable doctrine of law, that to-day we have as against the so-called Confederate States all the rights of belligerence and sovereignty too—thus sustaining not only in effect, but in precision of language, the principles I have quoted from Vattel; and which I have labored to establish as essential to sound views and conclusions on the important subject under discussion.

And here, Sir, in pursuance of the principles I have enunciated, I lay down the proposition as broadly as my language can express it, that every power and prerogative which the Federal Government would rightfully possess in war, as against England, France, Brazil, Mexico, or any other foreign power, it does this day possess as against the so-called

Confederate States. And I challenge any gentleman successfully to refute that proposition! But the moment these war powers are carried to the destruction or forfeiture of the property of a rebel, the gentleman from Thomaston cries out that the Constitution of the United States is violated in the section where Congress is prohibited forfeiting property "except during the life of the person attainted" of treason.

I tell the gentleman, that the operation of that clause of the Constitution is one governing the civil tribunals of the land, where courts are in session, juries empaneled, precepts served, and the process of law unobstructed. If he contends that it is applicable to a condition of things wherein the civil power of the Government has ceased to be operative in eleven States, he must contend by parity of reasoning that every other provision of the Constitution is equally operative, and that the state of belligerence does not supervene with its own well-defined and self-protective laws. If he takes this ground, and there is none other left him, I ask him, and I want an answer, whence is derived the power to blockade the ports of the Rebel States?

The Constitution of the United States says expressly that "no preference shall be given to the ports of one State over those of another." And yet directly in the face of this inhibition, a blockade of the most rigorous character has been instituted by which Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, and all other Southern ports are cut off from all commerce, while New York, Boston, Portland, and all other loyal ports are left in the free and unrestricted enjoyment of trade. Whence is the power derived to do this? The gentleman does not answer. Is it an unconstitutional act because in apparent conflict with the letter of one section of that instrument? How can the gentleman justify the act, other than by the war power of the Government blockading the ports of the so-called Confederate States, just as we did the ports of Mexico when at war with that power?

I assert then, again Sir, that we have as a government, all the rights of war against the so-called Confederate States so long as they are in rebellion, sword in hand, and I assert that this proposition is not only unanswered but unanswerable. Now, Sir, what are these rights? I have no desire to inflict upon this House lengthy readings from Vattel, and

Grotius, and Phillimore, and Wheaton, and Kent upon points of international law—all of which authors are lying here before me. I content myself with asserting what will not be denied, that the right of indemnification from the property of the enemy for the expenses of the war is clearly recognized by all the standard authorities. You may seize whatever is essential to the support of your army and convert it to your use. You may take his horses and his mules; his houses and his crops; his slaves and his dependents, and use them just in such manner consistent with humanity as may conduce to your triumph and reimburse you for your outlays.

The gentleman from Thomaston seemed by his remarks to have a great admiration for Gen. Halleck, and in that I most cordially sympathize; now I should like the gentleman to tell me by what particular provision of the Federal Constitution General Halleck has been exacting contributions from Messrs. A. B. and C., leading secessionists in St. Louis, for the support of Union men who have been driven from their homes and hearths by the myrmidons of Price and McCulloch? Does the gentleman pretend that this money was taken from these secessionists by "due process of law," or was it taken under the war power which Alexander Hamilton said could have no "constitutional shackles whatever?" Why, Sir, if the argument of the gentleman was carried to its legitimate conclusion, your Union armies could not shoot a single rebel nor imprison a single traitor, for the Constitution declares that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." To assume the ground of the gentleman from Thomaston with its legitimate sequences, is practically to give up the contest. For he tells you, and he certainly repeated it a score of times, that you cannot deprive these rebels of their property except "by due process of law," and at the same time he confesses that within the rebel territory it is impossible to serve any precept or enforce any verdict. He at the same time declares that we have not belligerent rights because the contest is not a civil war. Pray what kind of a war is it? The gentleman acknowledges that the rebels are traitors, and if so they must be engaged in some kind of war, because the Constitution declares that "treason

against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them." It is therefore war on their side. It must also be war on ours, and if so, what kind of war?

Mr. Gould rose and said that he would define it as *domestic* war. [Laughter.]

Mr. Blaine (resuming) :

Domestic war! that's it! Well, Mr. Chairman, we shall learn something before this discussion is over. Domestic war! I have heard of *domestic* woolens, *domestic* sheetings, and *domestic* felicity, but a "domestic war" is something entirely new under the sun. All the writers of international law that I have ever read, speak of two kinds of war, foreign and civil. Vattel will, I suppose, have a new edition with annotations by Gould, in which "domestic war" will be defined and illustrated as a contest not quite foreign, not quite civil, but one in which the rebellious party have at one and the same time all the rights of peaceful citizens and all the immunities of alien enemies—for that is precisely what the gentleman by his argument claims for the Southern secessionists.

But, Sir, I have been digressing. The line of my argument was leading me to show the rights of war as defined and accorded by international law—having already demonstrated that whatever these rights may be we have them today as against the so-called Confederate States. I have briefly stated what these rights are in respect to the property of the enemy, as defined in books of European and American authority. I propose in addition to show what we as a nation have construed them to be in practice. I propose to show to the House that in the Mexican war our Government, through instructions issuing from the War Department, then presided over by one of the most eminent of American statesmen (the late Governor Marcy), sanctioned the very doctrines I have advocated.

In a letter of instruction to General Taylor, September 22, 1846, Governor Marcy laid down the principle that "an invading army has the unquestionable right to draw its supplies from the enemy without paying for them, and to require contributions for its support and to make the enemy

feel the weight of the war;" and General Taylor was accordingly instructed to proceed in the campaign on this principle.

A few months later President Polk, in a letter to his Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker, maintained "the right of the conqueror to levy contributions on the enemy in their seaports, towns or provinces, and to apply the same to defray the expenses of the war." And on this principle he seized the Mexican custom-houses, levied the duties and turned all the receipts into the coffers of the Union, and in his own language, in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, March 31, 1847, Mr. Polk "claimed and exercised this as a belligerent right."

Now, Sir, against the Mexicans this was an indisputably proper exercise of the belligerent power. Viewed externally, other nations could do nothing else than acquiesce in it. But from an internal point of view, a very grave question arose in regard to it, and it was the same which divides the gentleman from Thomaston and myself in one branch of this discussion to-day. And that question was whether the President had the right to direct the seizure of the custom-houses, and this collection of duties, or whether it was a matter belonging primarily and exclusively to Congress, as the war-making power of the Government, entitled to "prescribe rules concerning captures on land and water. The subject was discussed with some warmth at the time in both branches of Congress, and though Mr. Polk's course was sustained by the partizan majority in both Senate and House, the weight of the argument was clearly against him —Mr. Webster demonstrating with his ponderous logic that the power did not belong to the President. The subject was of such importance as to call for notice and discussion in the late edition of Kent's Commentaries, where, after minutely stating what President Polk had done, the learned commentator makes the following remarks :

"All these rights of war undoubtedly belong to the conqueror or nation who holds foreign places and countries by conquest ; but the exercise of those rights and powers, except those that temporarily arise from necessity, belong to that power in the government to which the prerogative of war is constitutionally confided. * * * These fiscal and commercial relations, issued and enforced at the mere

pleasure of a President, would seem to press strongly upon the constitutional power of Congress to raise and support armies, to lay and collect taxes, duties, and imports, and to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and to declare war, and make rules for the government and regulation of the land and water, and to define offenses against the law of nations. Though the Constitution vests the executive power in the President, and declares him to be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, these powers must necessarily be subordinate to the legislative power in Congress. It would appear to me to be the policy or true construction of this simple and general grant of executive power to the President, not to suffer it to interfere with those specific powers of Congress, which are more safely deposited in the legislative department, and that the powers thus assumed by the President do not belong to him but to Congress."

I very much fear that the extensive law library of the gentleman from Thomaston, is not graced with the latest edition of Kent, or he would hardly have ventured to lay down doctrines and principles which are so signally denied and rebuked in that peerless authority.

And this construction, enunciated by Webster and Kent, I maintain, Sir, is understood to be the doctrine of President Lincoln, whom the gentleman has endeavored so ingeniously to misrepresent in his argument, and to damage by his support. The gentleman stated that the President had reversed General Fremont's order of confiscation because of its inexpediency and tendency to "raise a great row." The simple fact of the record is, and that is all we have to appeal to, that the President stated in his letter to General Fremont, that "he thought it proper to adhere to, and not transcend, the law of Congress," and as General Fremont's order did transcend the confiscation act of the extra session of Congress, it was directed that it be changed to conform to it. The meaning of this declaration of the President was that Congress only had the right to do that which General Fremont proposed to do in his proclamation. And this meaning was made still more distinctly manifest by the following unequivocal declarations in the message of the President at the beginning of the present session of Congress. I quote:

"I have, in every case, thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the Legislature.

"So also obeying the dictate of providence *as well as the obligations of law*, instead of transcending I have adhered to the act of Congress to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law upon the same subject shall be proposed, its propriety will be duly considered. The Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed."

Gen. Halleck, who is no less a lawyer than a military chieftain, has deliberately expressed the opinion that he has no right to liberate a single negro, except as authorized to do so by the war power of Congress—thereby very clearly and closely following the admirable exposition of the Constitution, as laid down in the famous case of Brown vs. the United States by Chief Justice Marshall.

John Quincy Adams, a name reverenced wherever popular liberty has an advocate, laid down the following proposition on the floor of the House of Representatives :

"From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theater of war, civil or foreign, from that instant, the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, in every way in which it can be interfered with—from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power.

If civil war come, if insurrection come, is this beleaguered Capital, is this besieged Government to see millions of its subjects in arms, and have no right to break the fetters which they are forging into swords? No! The war power of the Government can sweep this institution into the Gulf."

And, sir, in a House full of the most brilliant Southern lawyers, Wise, and Dromgoole, and Rhett, and Marshall among them, not one dared to dispute the proposition. Mark the extent to which Mr. Adams carries the war power of Congress—"even to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power!"

The mail of last evening, Sir, added to the list of authorities one which is entitled to eminent respect, and one which I especially commend to the gentleman from Thomaston as being soundly Democratic. I refer to a letter of the venerable Amos Kendall, one of a series which he is addressing to President Lincoln. He is contending against the proposition for universal emancipation, slaves of loyal and disloyal alike, as being wrong in policy and unjust towards good citizens. He urges a different course, and asks the extreme emancipationists to direct their enginery against the slaves of rebels only—that being clearly within their power. I quote Mr. Kendall's closing paragraph :

"Patriotic men may well differ as to the extent to which the punishment of treason shall be carried. The extreme emancipationists may, if they choose, insist that it shall be carried to the extent of confiscating and setting free all the slaves of rebels. *That they may do without assailing any principle of the Constitution*, and surely they would be much stronger on that ground than any other. Why, then, should they abandon the Constitution, and place themselves on revolutionary ground? Why not act with cordiality with those who are striving to maintain the Constitution as *it is*; and, that being accomplished, seek the consummation of their ends by means of confiscation under authority?"

Mr. Kendall thus assumes as a proposition which no one will dispute, that Congress has the power to liberate the slaves of rebels. The gentleman from Thomaston stubbornly contends that Congress has no such power under the Constitution, and that if it should attempt to go a pin's point beyond the Constitution, Congress would become as much a traitor as Jeff Davis and his confederates in guilt. The gentleman's argument, then, is simply this, and nothing more and nothing less, viz., that we have no power to confiscate the slaves of rebels—that it would be treason to assume this power, which could in no event be justified. What is the inference? Why simply that if it come to a question between sacrificing slavery or sacrificing the Union, the gentleman sacrifices the Union, because he can find no constitutional power to save it. He feels badly over it; he wrings his hands with impotent regret, but not having the constitutional power to do the only thing which might

become necessary to save the Union, he must "let it slide."

His rules of statesmanship in this matter are equal in wisdom to the rules of etiquette which forbade the Frenchman drowning in the river from calling on a passer-by to rescue him, because he did not enjoy the acquaintance of the gentleman, and such a liberty would be improper! The difference between myself and the gentleman from Thomaston is very wide and at the same time very simple. As between Slavery and the Union he, by his logic, goes for sustaining the first at the sacrifice of the second; whereas I go for smiting the first if it stand in the way of the salvation of the second. That is the whole thing in a nutshell!

The gentleman strove elaborately to prove that this Government, this Nation, this great American people have no right to do anything not distinctly warranted in the Federal Constitution. Sir, no position could be more radically erroneous, and that false premise is the corner-stone of error on which the gentleman has reared such a superstructure of wrong deductions and conclusions. I affirm, Sir, in opposition to this assumption, that the American people have rights which are anterior to and wholly independent of the Constitution; and I affirm moreover that while that precious instrument will continue to be, God grant for these many generations, the rule of our civil administration, yet that over it and under it and outside of it and above it there is engraven on the hearts of this people that God-given right, that great precept of nature, "Save thyself!" And I maintain, Sir, that the great law of self-preservation which in the individual knows no limit but necessity, is even stronger in a nation, by as much as the interests and importance of a nation transcend those of an individual. In the magnificent paragraph which in the earlier part of my remarks I quoted from Mr. Hamilton, this self-evident truth is thus tersely enunciated: "The circumstances that endanger the safety of nations are infinite; and for this reason *no constitutional shackles* can be wisely imposed on the power to which the care of it is committed."

There was one error, Mr. Chairman, which seemed to haunt the gentleman very persistently throughout the entire thread of his argument—and that was the alleged impossi-

bility of bringing the war power to bear against the rebels without first conceding that they had actually carried their states out of the Union. He stated many times that if the Rebel States are integral members of the Union, the contest with the rebels themselves cannot be carried on as a war, and that conversely to concede that it is war, is to concede that the States have actually seceded and set up a separate power. No statement could be more absurdly fallacious or amusingly ridiculous, as the gentleman himself will see by the most casual recurrence to fundamental principles. The State cannot be compromised or destroyed by the wrongful acts of never so large a majority of its people. The wrong-doers by the very force of their numbers may and do acquire certain immunities against individual punishment as I have already shown, but they do not acquire the right to change the relations of the State. I maintain as stoutly as he does, that Virginia and Tennessee, and all the rest of the eleven, are to-day States in the Union, and that the Constitution and laws of the Nation are operative within their borders. A rebellious force, however, having risen to such strength as to thwart the civil power and prevent the actual operation of the laws, it is the duty of the Nation through the war power to vindicate its authority, so that a Constitution which is *operative* may be made actually *operating*, and that laws which are *in force* may be really *enforced*. The gentleman's laborious effort, therefore, to demolish the theory of Senator Sumner in regard to the suicide of the Rebel States, has no pertinency whatever in this discussion. All the positions I have assumed, and all the arguments I have made use of to sustain these positions, have expressly negatived the theory of Mr. Sumner, and therefore I am not called upon to notice it further. I have merely to say in leaving this topic that the argument which maintains that the States would have to be out of the Union, before a contest with their rebellious inhabitants could be conducted as a civil war, is nothing short of an Irish bull of the most grotesque description. If the States are not members of the Union they are a foreign power, and of course a contest with their people could not be a civil war. The very essence of a civil war consists in its being a strife between members properly subject to the same sovereign authority.

And the dilemma herein suggested, ridiculous if not contemptible, is the same which has driven the gentleman to deny, as he has done, that this contest is either a "foreign war" or a "civil war." He had to manufacture a new kind of war—"domestic" he styled it—in order, as he hoped, to escape the absurd conclusions which some of his propositions led to. The gentleman setting out with radically erroneous premises could do nothing else than wander away from the landmarks of truth and sound logic—and there he continues to wander "in endless mazes lost."

I have now, Sir, at somewhat greater length than I designed when I rose, discussed the question of constitutional power, so far as it is brought into issue by the pending resolves. I have endeavored to establish as essential to the maintenance of my position two propositions: First, that the war power of this Government is lodged in Congress; and second, that under every principle and every precedent of international law the Government of the United States while sovereign over all, has, so long as the rebellion endures, all the rights of war against those who in armed force are seeking the life of the nation. If I have established these propositions, I have demonstrated the amplest power to adopt the measures proposed in the Resolves before us. If we have these powers we may do with and towards the rebels of the Confederate States, so-called, precisely as we would and did towards Mexico; and I have given the authority of Hamilton, and Kent, and Webster, and John Quincy Adams, and President Lincoln, to show that the specific line of policy as regards the property of the enemy is to be dictated by Congress. With this brief summary I proceed to discuss the second branch of my subject, which has reference to the *expediency* of adopting the resolves before us.

The first resolve, endorsing the Administration in general terms, is, I believe, not objected to in any quarter, and is not in dispute between the gentleman from Thomaston and myself. The only objection I have to it, is that it is cold, and stiff and formal, whereas to reflect my feelings it should be warm and cordial and unreserved. I am for the Administration through and through—being an early and unflinching believer in the ability, the honesty and patriot-

ism of Abraham Lincoln, I did in my humble sphere, both with pen and tongue, all I could to promote his election; and while I was thus engaged the gentleman was denouncing him as a Black Republican and an Abolitionist and a Disunionist.

Mr. Gould rose and denied that he had done so.

Mr. Blaine. Well, it is rather late to correct the record. All the gentleman's political associations in the campaign were with the most virulent revilers of Lincoln and Hamlin, and if he did not personally and publicly indulge in these slang charges and epithets, it was because he did not mount the stump. I am quite sure that the language I have quoted has formed the staple of his denunciations against other leading Republicans. However, we'll accept the gentleman's disclaimer as an act of repentance, even though late, and pass on to the resolution, which is in these words:

"Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress by such means as will not jeopard the rights and safety of the loyal people of the South, to provide for the confiscation of estate, real and personal, and for the forfeiture and liberation of every slave claimed by any person who shall continue in arms against the authority of the United States, or who shall in any manner aid and abet the present wicked and unjustifiable rebellion."

Mark, Mr. Chairman, the careful manner in which the resolution is drawn. In the first place the means adopted are to be such "*as will not jeopard the rights and safety of the loyal people of the South.*" And in reference to those who are to be punished, it is specially provided that the blow shall fall only on those "*who shall continue in arms against the authority of the United States.*" The punishment is not to be retrospective; all who will turn from past error and folly and crime shall be forgiven, but those who shall after due notification *continue in arms*, shall do so at the expense of the forfeiture of their estates and the liberation of their slaves. Should the ideas of these resolves ever be formed into practical legislation, it is evident that a day would be set and defined, beyond which a *continuance* in armed treason should be punished in the manner indicated. Thus much for the positive and plain intent and mean-

ing of this resolve. Let us examine briefly just what a man means when he votes against it. The negative of it, which is the position assumed by the gentleman from Thomaston, means simply that no matter how long or how wickedly a rebel may continue in treason; no matter how he may slaughter and devastate; no matter how many and how sacred laws of God and man he may trample under foot, still, you shall not deprive him of his estate or his slaves; every civil right which he had as a good citizen shall still be guaranteed to him. Why, Sir, the gentleman in point of right under the Constitution and laws, makes no distinction and boasts that he makes no distinction, between the loyal and the disloyal—claiming that each is entitled to all civil rights and that the man fighting in the ranks of Jeff Davis' army will have his estate and his slaves protected under the flag of the Union just as effectually as the man who is imperiling his life in the national army for the salvation of the government. The resolution, sir, I repeat, in leaving its further discussion, is most carefully guarded—declaring that the “rights of loyal men shall not be jeopardized,” and—

Mr. Gould interrupted, wishing to state that the clause in reference to protecting the rights of loyal men was mere clap-trap, impracticable and absurd—that the liberation of one-half the slaves would render the remainder worthless.

Mr. Blaine. The gentleman is evidently not very familiar with the statistics on the subject, or he would know that in Maryland, the free negro population is some thousands larger than the slave population, and I have yet to learn that slaves have not been held to be as valuable in Maryland as elsewhere. I say, moreover, that if every negro in the South were emancipated to-day, their number to the square mile of the territory inhabited by them would not be nearly so great as is the number of free negroes to the square mile in Maryland.

I was about to say, Sir, when the gentleman interrupted me, that the resolution is one against which I can hardly see how a man can vote if he sincerely desires a vigorous prosecution of this war—though, of course, I will not ques-

tion the loyalty or the motives of any one. I pass to the consideration of the third resolution, as follows:

"Resolved, That in this perilous crisis of the country it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional power to 'raise and support armies,' to provide by law for accepting the services of all able-bodied men of whatever status, and to employ these men in such manner as military necessity and the safety of the Republic may demand."

The gentleman says this is the same resolution, in effect, as that originally introduced in the Senate by Colonel Smart, and its design is to incite an insurrection of the negroes, and to arm them. The resolution must be taken and judged by itself—its own words. It simply declares that the services of all men should be accepted—this implies that the service is previously offered, and expressly negatives the idea of calling on the negroes "to rise." It further says, that these men should be employed as "military necessity and the safety of the Republic may demand." I do not anticipate that any necessity will arise for arming the slaves, and as at present advised, I would not vote for a resolution recommending that step. But there are a thousand things which the negroes may do, which would greatly lighten the labors of our brave brethren in the ranks of the National army. They may dig trenches, throw up embankments, labor on fortifications, aid in transporting baggage, and make themselves "generally useful." They are, moreover, good spies and scouts, and may be employed in a thousand ways to the advancement of the Union cause. Why, it is asserted on the very best authority, that the information of Buckner's failing strength in Fort Donelson, was first made known to General Grant by a negro who escaped from the rebel lines, and that this information was the basis on which he refused Buckner's proposal for an armistice and brought him to an immediate and unconditional surrender. Had General Grant not possessed this knowledge, he might have consented to a truce, during which, rebel reinforcements arriving from Clarksville, might have carried the day against him.

But the negro who supplied the timely information should, according to the argument of the gentleman, have been

driven from our lines and remanded to the custody of his rebel master. The gentleman declares he would not accept the services of negroes in any capacity nor in any event.

This resolution declares that these services should be accepted "if the safety of the republic demands it;" the gentleman from Thomaston says they should not. It is really singular, how at every crook and corner of the gentleman's argument he is driven to the abominable conclusion by his logic, that the safety of slavery is of greater moment than the safety of the Republic. The gentleman's line of argument leaves no other conclusion open to him.

The fourth, and concluding resolution of the series requires no notice, as it relates merely to the forwarding of the others to our Senators and Representatives.

In summing up these resolves, Sir, I maintain that they propose nothing which may not be properly done under the Constitution of the United States. They are moderate resolutions—conservative in doctrine, and well-guarded in expression. I believe that the adoption of their substance by Congress would be beneficial to the Union cause; I believe that such measures are just what the rebels most dread, and I feel assured that a confiscation act would prove verily a terror unto evil doers. I have said, Sir, that the legislation demanded is entirely within the power of Congress, without infringing the Constitution, or rather in direct pursuance of the war power of that instrument, as expounded by Hamilton and Henry, by Adams and Webster, by Marshall and Kent. All that I have proposed and advocated will in no wise conflict with the Constitution, and I think the rebellion will be subdued without resorting to extra constitutional measures. But lest the gentleman should infer that I shrink from the logical consequences of some propositions which I have laid down as ultimate steps, I tell him boldly that if the life of the nation seemed to demand the violation of the Constitution, I would violate it, and in taking this ground I am but repeating the expression of President Lincoln in his message, when he declared that "it were better to violate one provision than that all should perish." And I will give a higher and more venerable authority than President Lincoln, for the same doctrine. No less a personage than Thomas Jefferson wrote the following sentiments in a letter

10. *What is the best way to increase sales?*

The following is a rough summary and synthesis of the views of the members of the Senate upon the gentleman. He was not present at the session. He submits the conclusions arrived at by Senator Tracy as being the points essential to his case. The views of Senator DeWitt and Senator Doolittle are also given. A general review of all of those statements will be found in the Appendix.

I have spent a interesting afternoon with Mr. Chapman, in his parsonage at Westfield. I feel safe as a Republican. I have been entirely re-educated to the cause of the Union. I now view all previous non-cooperation as misleading the measures adopted by us to secure the security of the Union. I recognize no distinction between Genl. C. H. Smith, whom I am glad to see every day, and myself, as a true non-slavery man in the party. I am received across the hall from Mr. Oldtown (Mr. Brown) cordially greet and warmly welcome. I mention these gentlemen for they are this moment in my eye, and because they are types of many other loyal Democrats who hold the same good principles. The gentleman from Thompsonville by the doctrines he has advocated, has placed himself outside the pale and until he recants his errors we cannot receive him into fellowship. I remember, and I do not quote it too reverently, the injunction to the church to add to Hell only "such as shall be saved."

I claim, Mr. Chairman, that in the whole history of par-
ticular organizations not one can be found that has acted with
the generosity and liberality that has characterized the Re-

publicans since the outbreak of the rebellion. Why, Sir, in the State of Ohio, with sixty thousand partisan majority, the Republicans patriotically and most liberally gave the Gubernatorial nomination last year to a life-long Democrat—David Todd (who presided over the convention that nominated Mr. Douglas for the Presidency), and they elected him by a countless majority. With similar liberality they allowed one branch of the Legislature to fall under the control of those who were supposed to be loyal and liberal Democrats. And what is the result? Why, Sir, to-day, after all this liberality from the Republicans, the Democrats in the branch of the Legislature controlled by them, oppose, and will probably defeat the re-election to the United States Senate of that most earnest, brave and true man, Benjamin F. Wade. That is the return the Republicans get for their lavish liberality.

In New York, Sir, equal generosity was shown by the Republicans at the last election. They went so far even as to place their life-long opponent, Daniel S. Dickinson, at the head of their State ticket, and gave the Democrats half of the remainder of the nominees—all of whom were triumphantly elected. In return, they have received nothing but reviling and abuse, and I challenge any gentleman to point out a single locality where the Democrats having a clear majority, a Republican has been allowed to put his head above water. And to-day we are invited by the gentleman from Thomaston to patriotically abandon our entire party organization. Magnanimous advice! Most disinterested counsel! I say to the Republicans of this House, that while I am opposed to stirring up anything like partisan rancor during this crisis in the affairs of the Nation, yet we must look well to it that we sustain with increased vigor the Administration of Abraham Lincoln which we brought into power, and for whose acts we will be held responsible. While, then, we will welcome to our political fireside all who are disposed to co-operate with us, we will jealously guard against all these insidious attempts to disrupt that party organization, which is alone able to give to the Administration an efficient and permanent support. And when I urge this policy, I am sure that I speak no less the sentiments of patriotic Republicans, than of those truly loyal

Democrats who intend to stand by the Administration to the end of this fight with rebellion and treason.

I am somewhat distrustful of the sincerity and the endurance of the support, which the gentleman says he has given and will give to President Lincoln. I remember that at the extra session of the Legislature nearly a year ago, the gentleman was equally demonstrative in his professions of support to the Administration of Gov. Washburne, and yet I am credibly informed that the gentleman took occasion to roundly and soundly abuse the Governor in the Democratic Convention in the County of Knox in August last.

Mr. Gould rose and denied that he had abused Governor Washburne.

MR. BLAINE: I repeat my assertion, Mr. Chairman, and I say the gentleman, both in the Convention at Rockland and afterwards at Camden, abused Governor Washburne, as that term is employed politically. He denounced him as an "abolitionist," and opposed a union with his friends as far as he could and as far as he dare; and in the Convention Mr. George A. Starr and the gentleman had a colloquy, in which Mr. Starr, though a life-long Democrat, asserted that he would vote for Gov. Washburne a thousand times before he would vote for John W. Dana. And the gentleman from Thomaston would not take the same ground, but left himself open to all the inferences of sympathy with disloyal Democrats, rather than with the supporters of Governor Washburne. It is in view of these facts, Mr. Chairman, that I have said I distrust the sincerity and the permanence of the gentleman's support of President Lincoln. Why, Sir, we have just heard from the President in a communication of as great importance as any that has ever emanated from the Executive Mansion. I hold in my hand his message sent to Congress yesterday, and borne to us on the lightning's wing, in which he proposes compensation to the States that may agree to abolish slavery. I want to know from the gentleman from Thomaston if he supports the President in that policy?

Mr. Gould stated that he understood the President's proposition to be to compensate all the slave-owners, loyal and disloyal alike, and in that view, as a peace measure, he

might possibly go for it. He would not say that he would support it otherwise.

Mr. Blaine. A most remarkable interpretation of the President's position, truly! the gentleman thinks that Abraham Lincoln is solemnly proposing to pay the rebels hard cash for their slaves, and thus to replenish their treasury, otherwise so nearly exhausted. A brilliant policy indeed! But this construction which the gentleman puts on the message is in perfect keeping with the determination which he has shown all through, to put the estates and slaves of rebels on the same footing and under the same protection accorded to those of loyal men. If negroes are to be paid for, the gentleman is determined that the rebels shall have their full share of the cash. I think President Lincoln would be slightly surprised if any one would tell him that the country understood his proposition in that way, and yet, unless it does mean that, the gentleman from Thomaston says he will not support it—thus at the first practical test, deserting the President whom he has eulogized so highly. I had no idea when I fell into this vein of the discussion, that the insincerity of the gentleman would be made so quickly and so ludicrously apparent.

I read, Sir, in that message, something more than this great proposition for compensated emancipation. I read in it a declaration as plain as language can make it, that whatever measures may be deemed necessary, to crush out this rebellion speedily and effectually, will be unhesitatingly adopted. What else does the President mean when he says that "all indispensable means must be employed for the preservation of the Union," that "the war must continue" as long as resistance continues, without regard to the ruin which must attend it? What does the President mean by this language? Still more, what does he mean when he declares that "such measures as may obviously promise great efficiency towards ending the struggle must and will come?" I ask the gentleman what the President means by that, and he refuses to answer me. I tell the gentleman that it means the adoption of precisely such measures as we are discussing here to-day, and that these resolutions are but sustaining the already foreshadowed policy of the President, whenever the necessity for the enforcement of these meas-

ures arises, or whenever they may, in his own language, "promise great efficiency towards ending the struggle."

And, Sir, the struggle will be ended with victory for the Union and for liberty. The triumphs at Mill Spring, at Roanoke, at Henry, and at Donelson, are but the earnest of unbroken successes which under vigorous counsels now controlling the army are to attend the Union Cause. It is not to be as it has been. In the past autumn and early winter our prospects seemed dark and dreary. We closed the year with those terrible disasters at Big Bethel, at Bull Run, at Ball's Bluff, unredeemed; and our national energies seemed paralyzed with inaction and with treason, the war was being conducted in a manner that never did, and never will, and never can achieve anything but misfortune and disgrace. It was a war of half measures, painfully parallel in policy with that which in England, under the temporizing expedients urged by such leaders as Essex, and Manchester, and Northumberland, had wellnigh sacrificed the popular cause in the contest with the first Charles —a policy which is thus described and denounced by the most brilliant of English historians and the most astute of English critics :

"If there be any truth established by the universal experience of nations, it is this; that to carry the spirit of peace into war, is a weak and cruel policy. The time of negotiation is the time for deliberation and delay. But when an extreme case calls for that remedy, which is in its own nature most violent, and which, in such cases, is a remedy only because it is violent, it is idle to think of mitigating and diluting. Languid war can do nothing which negotiation or submission will not do better; and to act on any other principle, is not to save blood and money, but to squander them." I close as an apposite illustration of the great truth just enunciated, by quoting the well-known declaration of Edwin M. Stanton—"that the failure to attack Manassas in December last, will cost this nation three hundred millions of dollars and thirty thousand precious lives."

One other speech in the Maine Legislature attracted national attention, as the whole people were excited at the

time, Feb., 1859, about the acquisition of Cuba. Blaine was seriously opposed to the intended purchase, and in his speech, on the Resolve introduced by Mr. Porter of Lowell, he said:

I have no intention, Mr. Speaker, of inflicting a lengthy harangue upon the House, this morning, in regard to the acquisition of Cuba, though such a design has been attributed to me, by one or more newspapers, that have assumed, I know not on what ground, to advertise me for the "performance." When the Resolves were introduced by the gentleman from Lowell, on Wednesday, last, they were, by my motion, laid on the table. I did not think that the House could, at that time, be properly diverted from attention to the subjects before it, and I was not in favor of interrupting the ordinary and legitimate business of the session by the introduction and consideration of topics purely and solely political in their nature. I intended, however, at a suitable time, to move that the Resolves be taken up, and I submitted the motion this morning only after I had learned from the Speaker that all the business on his table, claiming the attention of the House, had been despatched. As there still remains an hour or two of the usual morning session, I have presumed that the House would not be averse to hearing from members a brief expression of their views on the important subject comprehended in the Resolves now before us; and as the matter is one of a political character, some freedom will be accorded, no doubt, to those who speak, in the allusions which they may be forced to make to the partisan relations of gentlemen on this floor.

It is well known, Mr. Speaker, that whether fortunate or unfortunate, simulated or real, there is an avowed *split* in the ranks of the Democracy of this State in regard to the policy of the National Administration. The gentleman from Camden (Mr. Smart) may be considered the leader of the heretical band who refuse to abide by the tests enunciated at Washington, while, on the other hand, the gentleman from Lowell (Mr. Porter) stands on this floor as the representative of the "most straitest sect" of Buchanan Democrats. The gentleman from Camden some time arranged his wires, and enunciated his platform, containing the "squatter sov-

ereignty" idea, which the President denounces as a monstrous heresy. From this dogma it was understood that the gentleman from Lowell earnestly dissented, and he formerly protested against it, in the name of all the collectors, post-masters, and tide waiters, from the New Hampshire line to the waters of the St. Croix. It was expected, therefore, that when any political movement should be made on this floor by the gentleman from Lowell, acting as the representative and accredited spokesman for the Moors, the Leavitts, the Dickersons, and the Macdonalds, it would be so unmistakably loyal to the measures of the "Administration, "all and singular," that no doubtful or double meaning could, in any way, be affixed to it. I must, therefore, express my unfeigned astonishment at the limping, hesitating, timid and inconclusive character of the Resolves offered by the gentleman from Lowell in favor of the acquisition of Cuba. Lest any gentleman should think I am characterizing these Resolves in extravagant language, I will with your permission, Mr. Speaker, read them, in order that the House may be reminded afresh of their true scope and meaning. They are as follows :

Resolved, That the Senators of Maine be instructed, and our Representatives in the Congress of the United States be requested, to exert their influence and give their votes for any *honorable* measure that has been or may be brought forward looking towards the early acquisition of Cuba by the United States.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to forward a copy of these Resolves to the Governors of the several States and Territories, to be laid before the Legislatures thereof, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to be laid before the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

Like a great many other political productions, these Resolves are remarkable rather for what they *omit* than for what they *express*; and are still more notable for what they *imply*. What do they *omit*, Mr. Speaker? They omit most pointedly and purposely every declaration that could be tortured into an approval of the measures now actually pending in the Senate of the United States for the acquisition of Cuba. What do they *express*? Nothing but a mild ap-

proval of any *honorable* measures that may be brought forward for the acquisition of Cuba. What do they *imply*? Why, plainly and palpably, that the proposition now pending, known as the Slidell measure, is not an *honorable* one, and therefore no endorsement of it is asked from the Legislature of Maine. I beg the gentlemen of this House to observe then, Mr. Speaker, that even the Administration Democrats, choosing their own ground and proposing to this House whatever they pleased to propose, have not dared to come hither and insult the dignity and decency of the Legislature by asking its approval of the extraordinary measure now under discussion at Washington. More than this, Mr. Speaker, they have deliberately expressed their own opposition to it by failing to endorse it. They ask us to approve an "*honorable*" measure; mark you! not Mr. Slidell's measure; not the measure conceived and brought forth at the White House; not the measure carried to the Capitol by the *Fidus Achates* of the President; not the measure now enlisting the support of every Administration Senator and the "*Illinois Rebel*" besides. No indeed, not this; the Resolves before us ask no approval of this gigantic, alarming and corrupting proposition, but they ask us to instruct our Senators in Congress to support some "*honorable*" measure, and the inevitable implication is that the pending measure is not an *honorable* one. The gentleman who introduced these Resolves, and those with whom he consulted (for I presume they were not brought forward without some conference,) are perfectly aware of the character of the Slidell proposition; they know that the attention of the whole country is fixed upon it; they know that its discussion is calling forth the best talent in the United States Senate; they know that it is a favorite measure with the President; and they know that it commands the support of every Administration Democrat in either branch of Congress. Under these circumstances, Mr. Speaker, I ask you what the studied omission of all reference to the measure in these Resolves can mean, except an implied and bitter disapproval of it—and all the more *bitter* because *implied*. The French have a saying that "*condemnation* by *implication* is harder to endure than *flat opposition*," and I commend the moral of the adage to those Democrats who, when expected to be

"faithful among the faithless," have hesitated and faltered and fallen back.

So far, Mr. Speaker, as the Resolves under consideration imply disapproval of the Slidell measure, they have my hearty concurrence, and I have no doubt, the concurrence of a large majority of this House. I object to their adoption, however, because they express in an indirect manner what I wish to see asserted explicitly and with emphasis. The proposition to place *thirty millions* of dollars at the disposal of the President and to run the nation in debt for the purpose of raising the money; to surrender to him the power to make treaties, annex territory and form States; to create him absolute dictator, with the purse of the nation in one hand and the sword in the other; to have peace or war, prosperity or misfortune follow at his will, or to be decided by his errors. Such a proposition, I say, is too monstrous to be entertained for one moment by any one who values the preservation of constitutional rights and the perpetuity of a Republican Union. A dozen years ago, when our country was in actual war with a neighboring nation, when it was supposed that peace could be promoted and hastened by placing *three millions of dollars* at the disposal of the President, the proposition was regarded so dangerous, that staid, conservative and dignified senators thought themselves justified in resorting to methods of opposition almost revolutionary in their character, in order to compass defeat. The precedent was regarded as a dangerous one, and was even admitted to be so by those who sustained the measure—the only plausible defense of which was that the fund appropriated might and would hasten the peace which was so generally desired. But now, when we are in profound "amity and concord" with all the great nations of the earth, when a change in our foreign relations would most probably be for the worse, it is deliberately proposed to place under the control of the President the enormous sum of *thirty millions of dollars*, in order to see whether he may not corrupt Spanish officials into a transfer of their most valuable dependency, and possibly get us into a war with England and France as a sort of *premium* to the value of Cuban acquisition. The proposition to place three millions at President Polk's disposal to get us out of war

was, as I have said, considered doubtful and dangerous, and yet now it is coolly proposed to give President Buchanan ten times as large a sum to see if in some kind of secret diplomacy he may not possibly be able to *get us into a war*. The Democratic party in Congress sustained both measures, the past and the present, but I think it a singular species of political arithmetic that considers it worth three millions of dollars in 1847 to get out of a war with a weak power, yet is anxious to pay thirty millions in 1859 for the possibility of getting into a war with three strong powers! I do not wonder, therefore, that the Administration Democrats in this State fail, as they have failed, to endorse the outrageous measure, and all I desire is that the Maine Legislature will not content itself with the implied disapprobation of the Slidell scheme proposed by the Resolutions before us, but that a manly, outspoken, and explicit protest shall be recorded against so dangerous a policy. It is for this reason, Mr. Speaker, and with these views, that I desire to amend the resolves presented by the gentleman from Lowell, and I now move that all after the word "Resolved" be stricken out, and the following inserted:

Resolved, That the proposition now pending in the Senate of the United States whereby the sum of thirty millions of dollars is to be placed at the disposal of the President to enable him to initiate and carry forward whatsoever measures he may please for the acquisition of Cuba, is of extraordinary character and of most dangerous tendency. It not only breaks down the constitutional safeguard of our government by yielding the entire treaty-making power to the Executive, but it leaves the issue of peace or war to be decided at his discretion, and the prosperity of the nation to be jeopardized even by his mistakes.

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives in Congress from Maine will reflect the will of their constituents by vigorously opposing the measure.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to forward these resolves to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State.

This substitute does not *imply* a condemnation of the Slidell measure; it *plainly expresses* it, and will thus, I believe, more truly reflect the views of this House than any

half-way evasive or inconclusive declaration could possibly do. In reference to the general subject of the acquisition of Cuba, which may be considered as in some sense before the House, I have a few remarks to offer, and I am frank to confess in the language of the "famous judge," that "a good deal may be said on one side of that question, and a good deal on the other." The acquisition of the island would incorporate into our nation a large number of people differing radically and essentially from us in race, in language, in religion, in domestic habits, and in civil institutions. Even with our enormous powers of deglutition, digestion and absorption, our energies would be taxed to a dangerous extent by the attempt to make the mixed and mongrel people of that island homogeneous with our own. Its annexation would also increase to an alarming extent the influence of the Slave power in the Government of this country, and would give them additional strength and prestige in the Senate of the United States, which, as every one knows, has always been their stronghold, both for offense and defense. The objections to the acquisition of Cuba which grew out of these considerations are most cogent and pressing, and certainly of sufficient weight to restrain the ardor of annexation, which some of our people might be supposed to cherish when looking at the subject purely from a commercial standpoint.

On the other hand, there is a very general acquiescence in the position that our country can never permit any other power to obtain possession of the island. Such is the well-known and peculiar situation with reference to our own country, that we would be deaf to the plainest dictates of self-interest if we should permit it to fall under the dominion of either of our great rivals in Europe. It may, therefore be considered the settled policy of this nation to prevent the island of Cuba from being transferred to any other nation, and I think it is equally the settled policy not to molest Spain in her peaceful and rightful possession of it. Every statesman in the country who has been called upon to affirm the position of our Government on this question, has uniformly taken the ground that we should not and would not disturb Spain in her ownership of the island, and that until she was ready to entertain or propose terms of cession or

transfer, it was not becoming in us to agitate the question. Such are the expressed and recorded views of John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, James Buchanan, William L. Marcy, and Edward Everett—six of the most distinguished gentlemen who have presided over the State department of this Government. If I had public documents at hand I could quote the opinions of each and all these eminent men in support of the views I have advanced. I am able, however, at this time, to call the attention of the House to an extract from but one of the numerous State papers to which I have referred, and that is from the letter of instructions written by Mr. Buchanan when Secretary of State under Mr. Polk in 1848, to Mr. Romulus Saunders of North Carolina, then our Minister to Madrid. In that letter Mr. Buchanan, speaking for the Administration, authorized Mr. Saunders to offer *one hundred millions of dollars* to Spain for the Island, and he accompanied his instructions with a disclaimer of any design or desire to coerce Spain into the sale. I quote the following extract from his remarks :

“The fate of this island must ever be deeply interesting to the people of the United States. *We are content that it shall continue to be a colony of Spain.* Whilst in her possession we have nothing to apprehend. Besides, we are bound to her by the ties of ancient friendship, and we sincerely desire to render these perpetual.”

Why then are we not still “content that it shall be a colony of Spain?” Do we not know, of a verity, that “whilst in her possession we have nothing to apprehend?” I commend Mr. Buchanan’s words in 1848 to his adherents in 1859, and knowing as they do, that Spain was never so reluctant to part with Cuba as now, indeed never so fully determined to hold it as at this moment, what I ask can be the object of *agitation* on the subject? No sane man in the country believes that the passage of the Slidell measure and the prodigal expenditure of the whole thirty millions of dollars that it gives to the President, will bring us any nearer to the possession of Cuba than we are to-day; at the same time every one can see that such a measure would be a most dangerous one, both as practice and precedent, and that it is objectional on every consideration of expedi-

CHAPTER X.

Election to Congress.—The Condition of the Nation.—Blaine's Colleagues.—Committee Work.—Studies to be quiet and to do his own business.—The Measures he advocated.—Views on Protection.—On Negro Soldiers.—Debates.—Return of Slaves.

In 1862, Anson P. Morrill, who had served one term from the Augusta district in the National House of Representatives, retired voluntarily, and left the field open to all competitors. But there was but little division of public sentiment. It was clear to all before the Convention met, that the choice of the people was James G. Blaine. His constituency was one of the most intelligent in the nation, and at that time their interest was not factional or personal. The heart of the people was marvelously agitated by the events connected with the great war. Homes were desolated by untimely deaths in battle. Taxation became grievous, and National pride was at its highest, and even to a dangerous pitch. Citizens everywhere took an excited interest in National affairs, and desired to send their best men without reference to local questions or factional prejudices.

Everywhere throughout the North the same feeling was exhibited. What a magnificent array of names does the record of those years of trial present to the historian. The war and its tests brought into the United States Congress then as great and noble a body of Statesmen as the world ever saw in one assembly. Into that Congress, where no second-rate mind could be felt, and no ordinary man would

be noticed, Blaine was considered worthy of a place by a constituency which appreciated the risk and understood their responsibility.

His election was triumphant, having three thousand majority. Yet it was all so natural, and so much expected, that all were ready to say, "I told you so." He was the man for the place. No other competitor was seriously considered.

December 7th, 1863, Blaine took his seat in the House of Representatives at Washington, and thenceforward became a National man. With him in the House were the following statesmen :

Lorenzo D. M. Sweat, Sidney Perham, John H. Rice, Frederic A. Pike, Daniel Marcy, Edward H. Rollins, James W. Patterson, Frederic E. Woodbridge, Justin S. Morrill, Portus Baxter, Thomas D. Elliot, Oakes Ames, Alexander H. Rice, Samuel Hooper, John B. Alley, Daniel W. Gooch, George S. Boutwell, John D. Baldwin, William B. Washburne, Henry L. Dawes, Thomas A. Jenckes, Nathan F. Dixon, Henry C. Deming, James E. English, Augustus Brandegee, John H. Hubbard, Henry G. Stebbins, Martin Kalbfleisch, Moses F. Odell, Benjamin Wood, Fernando Wood, Elijah Ward, John W. Chandler, James Brooks, Anson Herrick, William Radford, Charles H. Winfield, Homer A. Nelson, John B. Steele, John V. L. Peruyn, John A. Griswold, Orlando Kellogg, Calvin T. Hubbard, James M. Marvin, Samuel F. Miller, Ambrose W. Clark, Francis Kernan, De Witt C. Littlejohn, Thomas T. Davis, Theodore M. Pomroy, Daniel Morris, Giles W. Hotchkiss, Robert B. Van Valkenburgh, Freeman Clarke, Augustus Frank, John B. Ganson, Reuben E. Fenton, John F. Starr, George Middleton, William G. Steele, Andrew J. Rogers, Nehemiah Perry, Samuel J. Randall, Charles O'Neill, Leonard Myers, William D. Kelley, M. Russell Thayer,

John D. Stiles, John R. Broomall, Sydenham E. Ancona, Thaddeus Stevens, Myer Strouse, Philip Johnson, Charles Dennison, Henry W. Tracy, William H. Miller, Joseph Bailey, Alexander H. Coffroth, Archibald McAllister, James T. Hale, Glenny W. Schofield, Amos Myers, John L. Dawson, James K. Moorhead, Thomas Williams, Jesse Lazear, Nathaniel B. Smithers, A. P. Field, Thomas Collman, George H. Pendleton, Alexander Long, Robert C. Schenck, J. F. McKinney, Frank C. Le Blond, Chilton A. White, Samuel S. Cox, William Johnson, Warren P. Noble, James M. Ashley, Wells A. Hutchins, William E. Finck, John O'Neill, George Bliss, James R. Morris, Joseph W. White, Ephraim R. Eckley, Rufus P. Spaulding, James A. Garfield, Lucien Anderson, George H. Leaman, Henry Grider, Aaron Harding, Robert Mallory, Green Clay Smith, Brutus J. Clay, William H. Randall, William H. Wadsworth, John Law, James A. Cravens, Henry W. Harrington, William S. Holman, George W. Julian, Ebenezer Dumont, Daniel W. Voorhees, Godlove S. Orth, Schuyler Colfax, Joseph K. Edgerton, James F. McDowell, Isaac N. Arnold, John F. Farnsworth, Elihu B. Washburne, Charles H. Harris, Jesse O. Norton, John R. Eden, John T. Stuart, Lewis W. Ross, Anthony L. Knapp, James C. Robinson, William R. Morrison, William J. Allen, James C. Allen, John G. Scott, Austin A. King, James S. Rollins, Fernando C. Beaman, Charles Upson, John W. Longyear, Francis W. Kellogg, Augustus C. Baldwin, John F. Driggs, James F. Wilson, Hiram Price, William B. Allison, J. B. Grinnell, John A. Kasson, A. W. Hubbard, James S. Brown, Ithamar C. Sloan, Amasa Cobb, Charles A. Eldridge, Ezra Wheeler, Walter D. McIndoe, Thomas B. Shannon, William Higby, Cornelius Cole, William Windom, Ignatius Donnelly, Francisco Perea, John F. Kenney, George E. Cole, Samuel G. Daily, Hiram P. Bennet, J. B. S. Todd.

In the Senate at the same session were the following named men, many of whom have had no superior as patriotic statesmen in this later age of the world :

Hon. Lot M. Morrill, Hon. William Pitt Fessenden, Hon. Daniel Clark, Hon. John P. Hale, Hon. Solomon Foot, Hon. Jacob Collarmer, Hon. Henry Wilson, Hon. Charles Sumner, Hon. Henry B Anthony, Hon. William Sprague, Hon. James Dixon, Hon. Lafayette S. Foster, Hon. Ira Harris, Hon. Edward D. Morgan, Hon. John C. Ten Eysk, Hon. Edward Cowan, Hon. Charles R. Buckalew, Hon. James A. Bayard, Hon. William Saulsbury, Hon. Reverdy Johnson, Hon. Thomas H. Hicks, Hon. John S. Carlile, Hon. Lemuel J. Bowden, Hon. Lazarus W. Powell, Hon. Garrett Davis, Hon. John Sherman, Hon. Benjamin F. Wade, Hon. Henry S. Lane, Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, Hon. Lyman Trumbull, Hon. Zachariah Chandler, Hon. James Harlan, Hon. James W. Grimes, Hon. James R. Doolittle, Hon. Timothy O. Howe, Hon. James A. McDougall, Hon. Morton S. Wilkinson, Hon. Alexander Ramsey, Hon. Samuel C. Pomeroy, Hon. James H. Lane, Hon. James W. Nesmith, Hon. Benjamin F. Harding, Hon. Jacob M. Howard, Hon. William A. Richardson, Hon. William Wright, Hon. William S. Willey, Hon. Peter G. VanWinkle.

Blaine's personal influence was not at first felt so much as that of some other of the new members, but it increased steadily and surely. Whatever committee-work was given him to do, he did carefully, thoroughly and exhaustively. It was not long before the intelligent and observing men about him learned that he could be consulted as authority on all the subjects submitted to his committees. That was a reputation and an influence far more telling and lasting for those fearful and dangerous times than one gained by brilliant oratory or conceited forwardness. Hon. Scuyler

Colfax, Speaker of the House, appointed Blaine on the Committee on Militia and on the Committee on Post Offices. But during the session many special committees were appointed on which he appeared with increasing frequency.

He did not speak often. But when he did address the chair his words were important, and his motions and objections effective. His training as speaker of the Maine House gave him the advantage of a great familiarity with parliamentary law, and he was quick to see the place in which a motion, objection, or point of order would accomplish more than an extended speech.

Day by day his acquaintance extended, sitting by sitting his influence grew, until he was recognized instinctively by all as a master mind and a very shrewd parliamentarian.

Before that Congress the most difficult and complicated questions constantly arose, and often under the strain of great excitement, caused by news of disastrous defeat or glorious victory in the field, measures came before it concerning the enlistment of soldiers, the taking of slaves as contraband of war, negotiation with the rebels, the nation's uncertain relations to England and Mexico, the treatment of traitors, the status of prisoners of war, the construction of a navy, the issue of paper money, the drafting of men into the army, contraction of the public debt, the construction of the Pacific railroad and that greatest of all great questions which any nation has to consider, viz : the emancipation of the slaves.

On all these questions Blaine went on record unflinchingly and repeatedly. It is a marvel that on all the votes he gave, and of all the measures he advocated every one was approved by the nation either at once or in after time. Some will say it was remarkable luck. To the historian it looks like wisdom and foresight. He was true to his motto, "Under all circumstances dare to do right and leave the

consequences to Infinite Wisdom!" He introduced into Congress, during that session, the proposition to refund to the loyal States the money expended in raising armies.

The question of free trade was then agitated but Blaine seems to have been intently studying the question, and was more of a statesman than a hobbyist. Not his individual fine theories, but what was best for the time and place seemed to occupy his attention. In June of 1864, Hon. Samuel S. Cox, of Ohio, made a strong speech in which he contrasted the protection the laws gave the industries of New England and the protection given those of Ohio. In that speech he called the New England States the "protected states." In recording such matters there is nothing better than the official records and hence the remarks of Blaine on the matter are given here from the Congressional Globe.

"It has grown to be a habit in this House, Mr. Chairman, to speak of New England as a unit, and in assailing the New England States to class them together, as has been done to-day, by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Cox) throughout his entire speech. In response to such attacks, each particular Representative from a New England State might feel called upon to defend the whole section. For myself, sir, I take a different view. I have the honor to represent in part one State, the State of Maine, and I have no more to do with the local and particular interests of the rest of New England than with any other State in the Union. The other New England States are ably represented on the floor, and it would be officious and arrogant in me to speak for them. But when the gentleman from Ohio presumes to charge here, that the State I represent receives from Federal legislation any undue protection to her local interests, he either ignorantly or willfully misrepresents the case so grossly, that for ten minutes I will occupy the attention of this House in correcting him.

If the gentleman from Ohio, who has given us such a learned lecture on political economy, were at all well posted in re-

gard to the industrial pursuits of the people of Maine, he would know that two great leading interests are lumber and navigation. Now will the gentleman be good enough to tell the House what protection is extended by the laws of the United States to the lumber interest? At no time in our history, Sir, did lumber receive more than a feeble protection, and even that was taken away ten years ago, by the gentleman's political associates when they formed the reciprocity treaty, and then broke down the only business we had and threw in the whole lumber product of the British provinces to compete with us. And in regard to our great interest of navigation, will the gentleman be good enough to tell the House when a ship is launched from a Maine shipyard to engage in the commerce of the world, what protection is given by the United States laws against competition with foreign bottoms? Not a particle, Sir. These two great leading interests of my State derive no advantage from Federal legislation, while one of them has been very greatly damaged by the treaty-making power of the Federal Government. I do not hesitate to declare here to-day that the State of Ohio has upon her products and her manufactures ten dollars of protection from Federal legislation, where Maine has twenty-five cents.

But, Sir, let us take another view of this matter. The State of Maine consumes every year five hundred thousand barrels of flour, all of which with a trifling exception is brought from the West; and a large proportion, I presume, from the State of Ohio. Now if the gentleman's logic be good, it would be very admirable for this country to so change its domestic industry as to detach the six hundred thousand people of Maine from their present pursuits, and convert them into producers instead of consumers of bread-stuffs and provisions. And let this change be made throughout all the manufacturing and commercial districts of the Union, converting the five millions consumers into producers of grain and meats, and the withering effect on the gentleman's State and on the entire West, would be too apparent to require a speech of an hour and a half to demonstrate it. Sir, I am tired of such talk as the gentleman from Ohio has indulged in to-day, and in so far as it includes my own State as being a pensioner upon the General Government, or

dependent upon the bounty of any other State, I hurl back the charge with scorn. If there be a State in this Union that can say with truth that her Federal connection confers no special benefit of a material character, that State is Maine. And yet, Sir, no State is more attached to the Federal Union than Maine. Her affection and her pride are centered in the Union, and God knows she has contributed of her best blood and treasure without stint in supporting the war for the Union ; and she will do so to the end. But she resents, and I, speaking for her, resent the insinuation that she derives any undue advantage from Federal legislation, or that she gets a single dollar she does not pay back.

As compared with Ohio, whence this slander comes, I repeat, Sir, that Maine receives from Federal legislation no protection worth reckoning. The gentleman comes up here and classifies the States of the Union as "protected" and "unprotected" States, and he puts my State in the "protected" class, while the most youthful page on this floor, who has studied Mitchell's Geography, knows that the gentleman's own State derives from the General Government an immeasurably larger degree of protection for her local interests than the State of Maine does.

I observe, Sir, that a great deal has been said recently in the other end of the Capitol in regard to the fishing bounties, a portion of which is paid to Maine. I have a word to say on that matter, and I may as well say it here. According to the records of the Navy Department, the State of Maine has sent into the naval service since the beginning of this war, six thousand skilled seamen, to say nothing of the trained and invaluable officers she has contributed to the same sphere of patriotic duty. For these men the State has received no credit whatever on her quotas for the army. If you will calculate the amount of bounty that would have been paid to that number of men had they enlisted in the army, instead of entering the navy as they did without bounty, you will find it will foot up a larger sum than Maine has received in fishing bounties for the past twenty years. Thus, Sir, the original proposition on which fishing bounties were granted—that they would build up a hardy and skillful class of mariners for the public defense in time

of public danger—has been made good a hundred and a thousand-fold by the experience and developments of the war.

This much, Sir, I have felt called upon to say in response to the elaborate and carefully prepared speech of the gentleman from Ohio. I have spoken in vindication of a State that is as independent and as proud as any within the limits of the Union. I have spoken for a people as high-toned and as honorable as can be found in the wide world. I have spoken for a particular class—many of them my constituents—who are as manly and as brave as ever faced the ocean's storm. And so long, Sir, as I have a seat on this floor, the State of Maine shall not be slandered by the gentleman from Ohio, or by gentlemen from any other State.

Blaine was an ardent supporter of the theory that the slaves should be enlisted into the army the same as white men, and how he felt and what he said upon it can best be seen by the record of his controversy with Mallory of Kentucky.

Mr. Mallory said that the negroes not only did not behave with any gallantry, but they shrank and fled at the first discharge of rebel musketry, and were sent back under the cover of a hill to Frankfort. And I tell you, Sir, when we come to find out the whole truth in relation to these black soldiers at Petersburg, we shall find that they distinguished themselves as highly and in somewhat the same way as did those negroes at Frankfort. My friend from Maine (Mr. Blaine) who seems to be listening so attentively, lived in Kentucky once, and knows the negro and his attributes, and he knows, if he will tell you what he knows, that they won't fight.

MR. BLAINE. From a residence of five years in Kentucky I came to the conclusion from what I saw of the negroes that there was a great deal of fight in them.

MR. MALLORY. Was the gentleman ever attacked by them?

MR. BLAINE. And if the gentleman has ever resided a little further South than Kentucky, on the sugar plantations of Louisiana and Mississippi, I would ask him if the per-

fect terror of those regions is not a runaway negro in the canebrakes?

MR. MALLORY. Well, Sir, he would do for a bugaboo, to frighten negro children and white children into propriety.

MR. BLAINE. Well, I know it to be a fact. The gentleman from Kentucky will acquit me of having had anything to do with getting up that dispatch, to which he has alluded.

MR. MALLORY. Certainly I do.

MR. BLAINE. I have entire faith—and if I had not, I would never vote a dollar of appropriation for these negro troops—that well-trained and disciplined negroes will make good troops. I do not believe they will make as good troops as white men, and I do not value any white man's opinion who does think so. But I have one fact which I desire to state. Some three weeks ago I had a conversation with Mr. Charles Hale, of Boston, who has just set sail for Egypt, as Consul of the United States to that country, and where a year or two ago he spent some time. I asked him what was the connection between Egypt and the Sublime Porte. He said the Sublime Porte only exercised a sovereignty, so that when Turkey was engaged in war she could call upon Egypt for a contingent of troops; that she did that the last time during the Crimean war, and that Egypt furnished fifteen regiments of negroes of pure blood, unmixed from the foundation of the world, and as good troops as ever marched upon European soil.

MR. COX. They were Abyssinians. [Laughter.]

MR. BLAINE. They were Abyssinians whom my friend from Ohio found to be so surpassingly grand in their ecclesiastical attainments, and they are equally grand in their military attainments.

MR. MALLORY. I will resume the floor.

MR. BLAINE. One moment more. Those negroes, I am reminded here, were not Abyssinians. The Abyssinians are a race of a religious turn, but these were Nubians—naked, black Nubians. But enough of that. Now I ask the gentleman from Kentucky if he believes that a thousand white men, of the Kentucky race—and I believe that no more gallant race than the Kentuckians ever lived—unarmed and undrilled, would have stood any better before the rebel musketry than the negroes themselves did.

Another interesting tilt in this same session, with the Hon. S. S. Cox, was concerning the return of slaves to their owners. It shows Blaine's peculiar expertness in debate, as well as his position on that question.

MR. BLAINE. I want to ask the gentleman from Ohio a question. I was not entirely satisfied with his response to the question propounded by the gentleman from California (Mr. Cole). The gentleman is lecturing the House upon his view of the Constitution, and the laws enacted under it, and therefore I presume he will not, in the slightest degree, refuse to give us his views upon any particular application of law. The laws of the United States now allow the enlistment of negroes, and there are a great many slaves of Union men in the service.

MR. COX. Come to the question; I want the question, but do not make it too sharp.

MR. BLAINE. Those negroes are regularly enlisted in the army, and I want to know if the gentlemen would return them to their alleged owners? Do not dodge the question by saying that the commissioner will decide the case when it arises. Here is a negro in the ranks of the army, belonging to a loyal owner. Would he return that negro to his master? I do not want the gentleman to go off and say that the commissioner would decide so and so; I wish him to give the House his own view of the law.

MR. COX. The gentleman does not want me to answer the question except just as he wishes I should.

MR. BLAINE. I want you to answer yes or no.

MR. COX. Learn to put your question directly, without preface.

MR. BLAINE. Would the gentleman return to a loyal owner his slave, found in the ranks of the Union army, fighting for the preservation of the Government? Is that direct enough for the impatient gentleman?

MR. COX. I would return any slave stolen from his legal master, and let that slave take the consequences of the military law.

MR. BLAINE. I hear the answer of the gentleman from Ohio, but I cannot catch its meaning.

MR. COX. And I guess that very few people ever catch their slaves under present circumstances. [Laughter.]

MR. BLAINE. Then I understand the gentleman to say that unless the slave be stolen he would not return him?

MR. COX.—If I were a commissioner, under the law, I would return every man whom the law required to be returned.

MR. BLAINE. But does the law require a man to be returned who is in the ranks of the Union army? The gentleman skillfully attempts to evade that question.

MR. COX. The gentleman skillfully puts a question, and doggedly shuts his ears to the answer. The law was never made in view of a condition of things like the present.

MR. BLAINE. Then I understand the gentleman to say that he would return men to slavery from the ranks of the Union army?

MR. COX. I would return any man now in arms who has been wrongfully taken from his master, and then I would let the proper tribunal decide whether he properly belonged to the military service or not.

MR. BLAINE. Are the men who are in the army wrongfully taken?

MR. COX. I ask the gentleman that. *Were they wrongfully taken?*

MR. BLAINE. No sir.

MR. COX. Then I have nothing more to say to the gentleman on that point. The answer is obvious.

MR. BLAINE. Yes, but obvious as the answer may be, the gentleman fails to give it. But I will put another question. Suppose a runaway slave, one not taken by law from his master, enlists and is found in the ranks of the Union Army, and is claimed as a fugitive slave, what does he think about that?

MR. COX. I will tell the gentleman what I think about it. I opposed putting the black men in the army in the first place. I said there would be trouble about the exchange of prisoners. I warned the House against that policy earnestly, in the interest of our white soldiers, who have been kept in prison by reason of this infamous military policy as to black soldiers. I do not believe the army has been strengthened one jot or tittle by the black men. I believe they are a pos-

itive weakness to the Union army, and the Union cause. General Grant does not use them. He does not put them in the front. He does not fight them. He knows their worth or worthlessness. He uses them where he can, but takes care where he places them.

MR. BLAINE. Let me tell the gentleman that there are more than one hundred and fifty wounded negroes in one hospital at Fortress Monroe.

MR. COX. The gentleman may find one hundred and fifty blacks wounded out of one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. They were with Butler. The wonder is that any escaped. But General Grant is too skillful and able a general to put himself and black men against General Lee and his white men.

MR. BLAINE. I do not see the pertinency of that to my question.

MR. COX. I will show the gentleman. I would be willing to let the black soldiers in our army be taken home to their loyal owners, and if the war must go on, leave to the white men the honor and duty of carrying on the war for the constitutional liberties of white men.

MR. BLAINE. Precisely; but I still fail to see the pertinency of the gentleman's harangue. I recognize in it the sentiment and the phrases of a stump speech, which I had the pleasure of hearing from him more than once before. But it has no relevancy to my question.

MR. COX. The gentleman is mistaken. I never discussed the subject-matter of his question before in my life. He imagines it to be a stump speech, because, in his familiar parlance, it is a *stumper* to him. True, I gave him a general answer.

MR. BLAINE. Quite a general one.

MR. COX. Then I will not yield any further. If I cannot make him understand, it is not my fault.

MR. BLAINE. Not at all.

MR. COX. I do not think the gentleman is so stupid as that he cannot understand it. The trouble is, he does not want to understand it.

MR. BLAINE. I understand distinctly that the gentleman does not wish to give me a direct answer.

CHAPTER. XI.

The Thirty-Ninth Congress.—Blaine's Renomination.—His Letter of Acceptance.—His Position in the House of Representatives.—His Influence Through the Country.—Advocates Paying the War Debts of the States.—Speeches on Constitutional Amendments.—The Gold Bill.—Basis of Representation in Congress.—Buying Ships Abroad.

In the fall of 1864 Blaine was renominated by the Republicans of his district and elected by the people with but little opposition. His letter of acceptance of the nomination that year shows the issues before the people and his position in regard to them.

AUGUSTA, AUG. 20th, 1864.

GEN. J. R. BACHELDER:

Dear Sir : I am in receipt of your favor formally advising me that on the 10th inst., the Union Convention of the Third District unanimously nominated me for re-election as Representative in Congress. For this generous action, as well as for the cordial manner attending it, and the very complimentary phrase in which it is conveyed, I am under profound obligations. It is far easier for me to find the inspiring cause of such favor and such unanimity in the personal partiality of friends, than in any merits or services which I may justly claim as my own.

In nominating me as the Union candidate, and pledging me to no other platform, you place me on the precise ground I desire to occupy. The controlling and absorbing issue before the American people is whether the Federal Union shall be saved or lost. In comparison with that, all other issues and controversies are subordinate, and entitled to con-

sideration just in the degree that they may influence the end which Washington declared to be "the primary object of patriotic desire." To maintain the Union a gigantic war has been carried on, now in the fourth year of its duration, and the resources of the country, both in men and money, have been freely expended in support of it. The war was not a matter of choice with the government, unless it was prepared to surrender its power over one-half of its territory and incur all the hazards of anarchy throughout the other half. It was begun by those who sought to overthrow the Federal authority. It should be ended the very day that authority is recognized and re-established throughout its rightful domain.

The desire for peace after the sufferings and trials of the past three years is natural. Springing from the very instincts of humanity it is irrepressible. The danger to be avoided is that in aiming to attain peace we shall be deceived by the shadow and thus fail to secure the substance. Peace on the basis of disunion is a delusion. It is no peace at all. It is but the beginning of war—more wasteful, more destructive, more cruel than we have thus far experienced. Those who cry for the "immediate cessation of the war" are the best advocates of its endless continuance. They mean peace by the recognition of Rebel Independence, and Rebel Independence is absolutely incompatible with peace.

Among the cherished errors of those who are willing to acknowledge the Southern Confederacy as the basis of peace, the most fatal is that which assumes the continued union, harmony and power of the loyal States. This cannot be. Contentions and strifes without number would at once spring up. The border States would be convulsed with a fierce contest as to which section they would adhere to. The Pacific slope, to escape the dangers and constant embroilments which it could neither control nor avoid, would naturally seek for independence; and the Northwest, if it did not follow the example, would demand such a reconstruction of the government of the remaining States as would make our further connection therewith undesirable if not absolutely intolerable. In short disunion upon the line of the revolted States would involve the total and speedy disintegration of the Federal Government, and we

would find ourselves launched on "a sea of troubles" with no pilot capable of holding the helm, and no chart to guide us on our perilous voyage.

There is indeed but one path of safety, and that is likewise the path of honor and of interest. *We must preserve the Union.* Differ as we may as to the measures necessary to that end, there shall be no difference among loyal men as to the end itself. No sacrifice we can make in our efforts to save the Union is comparable with that we should all make in losing it. He is the enemy to both sections and to the common cause of humanity and civilization, who is willing to conclude the war by surrendering the Union; and the most alarming development of the times is the disposition manifested by leading journals, by public men and by political conventions in the loyal States to accept this conclusion. For myself, in the limited sphere of my influence I shall never consent to such a delusive settlement of our troubles. Neither at the polls as an American citizen, nor in Congress as a Representative (should I again be chosen) will I ever give a vote admitting even the possibility of ultimate failure in this great struggle for Nationality.

Very respectfully, your obd't servant,

J. G. BLAINE.

During the succeeding 39th Congress he occupied a subordinate position on the Committee on Military Affairs. But his influence on that important committee or in the House was not secondary. During the session of that Congress Blaine reached that leading position as a statesman which he has held ever since. His position on the basis of representation in Congress, claiming that the South should be entitled to representatives only in proportion to its enfranchised citizens, was one, which, when adopted compelled the South for their own interest to grant the right of suffrage to the negro population.

The registry of vessels engaged in American trade; the appropriations for the army; the still unsettled question of paying to the States their expenditures for raising troops

in the war ; the West India telegraph ; reorganization of the army ; the reconstruction of the Southern States ; equalization of taxes, and the celebrated controversy with Hon. Roscoe Conkling over General Fry, called out his most brilliant talents and fastened him to the hearts of the people.

The exciting discussion with Conkling arose about the Provost Marshal General, against whom Conkling, for some reason sufficient to him, had taken a most bitter dislike. Blaine defended General Fry boldly, persistently, and sharply. The discussion became excitingly personal and the wordy warfare was one of the most keen, sarcastic and bold ever waged in the arena of daily conflict.

On the question of reimbursing the States for their war expenses Blaine was the originator of the proposition, and its champion to its successful issue. His speech upon that matter given April 12th, 1864, will give the reader an accurate and official account of the measure and his manner of sustaining it.

The House being in Committee of the Whole, on the Special Order, Bill No. 117, "to reimburse the State of Pennsylvania for expenses incurred in calling out the militia during the invasion of said State."

MR. BLAINE said :

Mr. Chairman—I move to amend the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Farnsworth) by adding thereto the following, which I design as a substitute for the bill reported by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Stevens) :

"Sec. 1. That a Board of three commissioners, to be appointed by the President, is hereby established to ascertain the total amount of indebtedness that has been incurred by the loyal States, and by the towns, cities and counties within those States, in their efforts to raise, organize and equip troops for the present war ; and said commissioners shall hold their sessions in the city of Washington from and

after the 1st day of October next, and shall have power to employ such number of clerks as they may find necessary, not exceeding four—one of each class.

"Sec. 2. Said commissioners shall give notice by advertisement in at least one paper in each loyal State, of the time and place of their sessions, that all duly authorized agents may attend and present their claims for debts incurred for the general or particular defense during the war, and on the evidence thereof according to the principles of general equity (although such claims may not have been sanctioned by the laws of Congress) to allow the same as a charge against the United States, subject to the approval of Congress, to be liquidated and paid by the issuance to said claimants of bonds of the United States, payable in — years, with interest at the rate of — per cent. per annum, or in lawful money of the United States, as may hereafter be elected by Congress: *Provided always,* That the rule for apportioning to States the amounts to be refunded under this act shall be the same that is provided by the Constitution of the United States for the apportionment of Representatives and direct taxes.

"Sec. 3. Said commissioners shall respectively take an oath before a judge of the United States Court that they will faithfully discharge their duties. They shall each be paid at the rate of — dollars per day, and shall make final report of their doings to Congress on or before the first Monday of December, A. D. 1865."

MR. STILES. I raise the point of order on that amendment, that it is not germane to the original bill.

MR. STEVENS. I hope the gentleman from Maine will withdraw it. It is upon a different subject altogether.

MR. BLAINE. I submit the question to the Chair. If my amendment is out of order, of course I cannot press it.

THE CHAIRMAN. The Chair decides the amendment to be in order, as it relates to the general subject of the bill, and in effect includes the pending measure.

MR. BLAINE. As early as the 7th of January last, Mr. Chairman, I called the attention of the House by a simple declaratory resolution to the subject of refunding to the loyal States the amounts expended by them in the prosecution of the existing war. Instead of asking a vote on the resolu-

tion then submitted, I desire the action of the House on the bill which I have just offered as a substitute for that reported from the Committee of Ways and Means by the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Stevens). His bill proposes to refund a certain amount of money claimed to be due from the General Government to his own State for expenses incurred during the Gettysburg campaign. My bill proposes to establish a commission for the purpose of ascertaining the amounts due to all the loyal States for their war expenditures, with the view of ultimately refunding the same from the common treasury of the nation.

It is, of course, well known to all, that in addition to the enormous outlay of the National Government in its effort to suppress the Southern Rebellion, there has been a necessary and legitimate expenditure in aid of the same great object on the part of the loyal States. These expenditures arose from absolute necessity; they have not been made thoughtlessly or wastefully, but with due consideration, and with a prudent economy which compares most favorably with many departments of the National disbursement. My proposition is, that all expenditures thus made in good faith for the defense and preservation of the National life, should be refunded by the National Government. And I shall proceed to discuss, as briefly as may be, the justice and expediency of refunding these amounts; the precedents for so doing; and our ability to do so without impairing the National credit. And of these in their order.

If the twenty-four loyal States, now striving, with patriotic rivalry, to outdo each other in defending and rescuing the nation from its perils, were hereafter to constitute the entire Union, there might be nothing gained and nothing lost to any one of them, by consolidating their respective war debts into one common charge upon the aggregate resources of the nation. Under such circumstances each State would be freed from an individual tax only to incur a burden of similar magnitude in meeting its component part of the total national debt. But the actual case, presented for our consideration and decision, is far different from this. We are engaged in a struggle which must inevitably result in restoring to loyalty, and to duty, eleven States now in rebellion against the authority of the National Government.

And beyond that, as a consequence of a restored Union, and of the boundless prosperity which awaits the auspicious event, our vast Western domain will be peopled with a rapidity exceeding all precedent, and States without number almost will spring into existence, to add to the strength and insure the perpetuity of our Government. Well-considered estimates based on past progress, and the established ratio of our advance in wealth and population, assure us that within less than a century from this time we shall have added forty new States to our Union, making, with the number now composing it, a grand total of seventy-five prosperous Commonwealths. Were it not for the blood so freely poured out, and the treasure so lavishly expended by the twenty-four loyal States represented on this floor, the eleven States now in revolt would not be saved from self-destruction, and the forty States so speedily to grow up in the Mississippi valley and on the Pacific slope would never come into existence.

Of the immense national debt which we are incurring in this struggle, each State will, of course, have to bear a share; but it is quite manifest that for two generations to come, owing to our established system of taxation, the present loyal States will have to endure vastly the larger proportion of the total burden. Is it fair or just, that in addition to this they shall each be called upon to bear, unaided, a large local debt, necessarily, and yet generously, incurred in aid of the one common object of preserving the life of the whole nation? The question which I present, therefore, is not one for dispute or difference between any of the States here represented, for they all have a common interest in adopting the proposed measure. The financial issue is rather between the twenty-four loyal States on the one hand, and the eleven revolted States, together with all future new States, on the other. We have it in our power to-day to determine the matter upon principles of the highest equity, and at the same time for the interest of the loyal States, who are bearing the heat and burden of the great contest.

From such data as I have been able to collect, I estimate the war debts of the loyal States, and of the towns, cities, and counties within those States, as amounting at least to one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. The annual tax

to meet the interest on this sum must be raised by a direct levy on the property of the people, without the intervention of an excise system, or any other indirection to lighten or disguise it. If this burden is to remain permanently on the communities now sustaining it, we shall witness the anomalous spectacle of less than one-third of the prospective number of States bearing in its most oppressive form one hundred and fifty millions of debt, every dollar of which was contracted as much for the benefit of the other two-thirds of the Union as for themselves. And the injurious working of such a discrimination will be made odiously and cruelly manifest in the emigration from the old to the new States, and from the North to the South, for the purpose of escaping the very tax which was incurred that the new States might be born, and that the South might be saved from suicide. I could not, by any argument, enhance the force of such a fact as this, nor strengthen the plea which it makes for the equalization of the entire debt created by the war.

I anticipate an objection which will be made to the measure on the score of expediency. Many gentlemen, while admitting the abstract justice and equity of the proposition, have suggested the danger of impairing the national credit by adding to it a burden which need not be assumed. The national treasury they fear is already overloaded by the inevitable demands upon it, and they protest against incurring any fresh obligation where it can possibly be avoided. I shall, before closing my remarks, speak somewhat in detail of our ability to bear the national debt which the suppression of the rebellion will leave upon us. At this point I desire only to say that it is a mistake, palpable and radical, to assume that the adoption of the refunding measure which I have proposed would in any degree add to the national burden or actually increase the debt of the country. The States and communities which owe the debts proposed to be refunded, are precisely the same States and communities upon which must rest the maintenance of the national credit during the entire period that it may be said to be in doubt or on trial before the world. If this \$150,000,000 of local indebtedness is upon them, it affects their resources and their ability to carry the national debt by precisely that

amount. And if the national debt be increased \$150,000,-000 by refunding to the States, the local burdens are correlatively and proportionally reduced. Not only is this so, as an actual fact, but it is so in its impression and its influence in financial circles. You will find that the bankers in New York and London maintain a close observation upon our State and local indebtedness, and thence measure our ability to carry a national debt. Should the refunding policy be adopted, no class of men will appreciate it so thoroughly or weigh its effect so clearly as those who so largely control the loan market. The policy will need neither explanation nor vindication with that sagacious and far-seeing class of men.

It is worthy of remark that at the organization of the Government, when the policy of refunding to the States their outlays in the revolutionary struggle was under discussion, the very objection which I have just been considering was vehemently urged by those who were opposed to the measure. Their whole argument was very quietly overthrown by Mr. Hamilton in his celebrated report of January 9, 1790, when he summed up and disposed of the entire case in these few words :

“Admitting that a provision must be made in some way or other for the entire debt, it will certainly follow that no greater revenues will be required, whether that provision be made wholly by the United States or partly by them and partly by the States separately.”

Instead of having an injurious effect on the public credit, Mr. Hamilton further maintained that the refunding policy “would contribute, in an eminent degree, to an orderly, stable, and satisfactory arrangement of the national finances.”

Every measure of legislation having sufficient importance to enlist the interest and challenge the scrutiny of the country, is greatly strengthened if its policy can be sustained by the practice of the past. Happily, in this instance we are not without the most pertinent and suggestive precedents—not only settling all questions of Constitutional power, but vindicating by results the policy of refunding all war expenditures to the States.

I need not remind the House that one of the earliest and

one of the gravest questions that came up for adjustment upon the organization of the Government was the payment, from the common purse of the nation, of all debts contracted by the States in their great struggle to achieve our independence. All the possible questions and issues involved in such a policy were fully and freely discussed by the leading statesmen of that day; and the decision was in favor of refunding—a decision which was followed by the almost instant revival and subsequent continued maintenance of the public credit. The argument in favor of the policy was admirably condensed by Mr. Hamilton in a single paragraph which I quote from one of his ablest papers:

“The equalizing of the condition of the citizens of every State, and exonerating those of the States most indebted from partial burdens which would press upon them in consequence of exertions in a common cause, is not completely fulfilled until the entire debt of every State contracted in relation to the war is embraced in one general and comprehensive plan. The inconvenience to the United States of disburdening the States which are still incumbered with considerable debts, would bear no proportion to the inconvenience which they would feel if left to struggle with those debts unaided.”

Following the views and recommendations of Mr. Hamilton, Congress, on the 5th of August, 1790, passed “An act to provide more effectually for the settlement of accounts between the United States and the individual States.” By this act, a board consisting of three commissioners was appointed to hear and adjudicate all claims submitted to them. The generous and comprehensive basis on which claims were to be determined, may be seen from the third section of the act, a part of which I will read:

“SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of said commissioners to receive and examine all claims which shall be exhibited to them before the 1st day of July, A. D. 1791, and to determine on all such as shall have accrued for the general or particular defense during the war, and on the evidence thereof, according to the principles of general equity, although

such claims may not be sanctioned by the resolves of Congress, nor supported by regular vouchers," etc.

By legislation contemporaneous with the foregoing, the act indeed being approved one day in advance of that from which I have read, Congress agreed to liquidate the claims of States to a specified amount, with the simple proviso, that the claims should be for "compensations and expenditures for service or supplies toward the prosecution of the late war and the defense of the United States or some part thereof during the same." The amounts for which United States stocks were, in pursuance of this legislation, exchanged for certificates of State indebtedness were as follows in the various States, viz.: New Hampshire, \$300,000; Massachusetts, \$4,000,000; Rhode Island, \$200,000; Connecticut, \$1,000,000; New York, \$1,200,000; New Jersey, \$800,000; Pennsylvania, \$2,200,000; Delaware, \$200,000; Maryland, \$800,000; Virginia, \$3,500,000; North Carolina, \$2,400,000; South Carolina, \$4,000,000; Georgia, \$300,000. Massachusetts, which furnished the most men in the revolutionary war, and South Carolina, which furnished the least number, had the same amounts liquidated; and the aggregate sum thus refunded to all the States for war expenditures was twenty-one and a half millions of dollars; immeasurably larger, in proportion to the wealth and resources of the country at that time, than one hundred and fifty millions would be for the nation as it exists to-day.

The second precedent for refunding the expenditures made by States was in the war with England in 1812-15. Every dollar was repaid on the most liberal principles, the only limit or qualification being that the money whose restitution was claimed, "had been actually expended for the use and benefit of the United States during the late war with Great Britain." And the principle was carried further than simply refunding the amounts advanced, for interest also was subsequently allowed to every State, except Massachusetts, upon all debts incurred on behalf of the common cause. The payment of interest was a much-discussed and long-delayed act, and its accomplishment was finally due to the clear and forcible presentation of the merits and rightfulness of the

policy by President Monroe, in a message to Congress during the session of 1824-25. In consequence of the argument and influence of the President, interest was allowed to Virginia "on all sums on which she had paid interest;" and subsequently, by separate acts, each State that had made advances for war purposes was allowed interest in full thereon, with the exception just noted; and a bill to refund interest to Massachusetts is now pending. Reference may be had to United States Statutes at Large, volume 4, pages 161, 175, 192, 241, 499.

The third and freshest precedent for the policy now urged was the course pursued by our Government with reference to State expenses incurred during the war with Mexico. The refunding to the States, in that instance was upon a basis so comprehensive and broad as to be almost liable to the charge of looseness and prodigality. Before the war had continued a year, before the intelligence of Taylor's victory at Buena Vista had reached this country, and before Scott had even landed at Vera Cruz, Congress provided by joint resolution of March 3, 1847, for refunding as follows:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of War be and he is hereby authorized and required to cause to be refunded to the several States or to individuals, for services rendered, acting under the authority of any State, the amount of expenses incurred by them in organizing, subsisting, and transporting volunteers previous to their being mustered and received into the service of the United States for the present war."

Under this resolution many claims were presented which the auditing bureaus of the Treasury Department refused to allow, because of the restriction contained in the phrase "acting under the authority of any State." There was, moreover, a class of claims presented by counties and municipal corporations which did not seem to be included within the specific terms of the resolution. To remedy all such defects, Congress the next year passed an act, approved June 2, 1848, the first section of which was in the following terms:

"Be it enacted, etc., That the provisions of the joint res-

solutions approved March 3, 1847, entitled 'A resolution to refund money to the States that have supplied volunteers, etc.' be and the same are hereby extended so as to embrace all cases of expenses heretofore incurred in organizing, subsisting and transporting volunteers previous to their being mustered and received into the United States service for the present war, whether by *States, counties, corporations, or individuals, either acting with or without the authority of any State*: *Provided, however,* That proof shall be made to the satisfaction of the Secretary of War of the amount thus expended, and that the same was necessary and proper for the troops aforesaid."

Sweeping and conclusive as was the general scope of this resolution the simple proviso requiring satisfactory proof that the expenditures were "necessary and proper for the troops aforesaid," operated as a bar to the payment of certain classes of claims. The auditing bureaus, under the strict scrutiny applied by them, held a considerable amount suspended for three or four years, until finally, in 1852, Congress again came to the relief of the States by declaring that their accounts should be allowed "*as presented.*" This legislation is contained in the tenth section of the Army appropriation bill, approved August 31st, 1852, as follows:

"*And be it further enacted, etc.,* That there be appropriated as aforesaid for refunding to the State of Michigan the amount advanced by said State in organizing, subsisting, and transporting volunteers previous to their being mustered into the United States service during the late war with Mexico, \$20,000, which said sum or so much thereof as shall be necessary to pay and cancel the claim of said State, *as presented*, and now on file in the office of the Third Auditor of the Treasury Department, shall be paid by the Secretary of the Treasury to the Governor or other proper officer of the said State of Michigan: *Provided,* That the same principles be applied in the settlement of the claims of the State of Alabama and all other States for money advanced in raising, subsisting, and transporting troops for the Mexican war."

In one of the instances which I have cited the claims of States were paid by substituting United for

certificates of local indebtedness. The bill which I have submitted proposes a similar plan at this time, so that its adoption involves no danger of an expanded circulation. It neither adds to the currency by an issue of legal-tender notes, nor does it increase the bonded debt of the loyal States. It simply changes the form of the latter from a local and diverse, to a general and uniform series of obligations.

Thus we find the precedents are ample, broad, and conclusive. In the three wars in which our country has been engaged, the policy of refunding to the States all their contributions to the common cause has been uniformly and rigidly followed by Congress. It was so in our first war, which was a struggle for independence; it was so in our second war, which was waged for maritime rights and for national dignity; it was so in our third war, which, in its spirit and in its results, was mainly a war of conquest. We are now engaged in war for the fourth time, and the struggle is for national unity and self-preservation. Instead of narrowing these precedents left us by former wars, every consideration of justice and equity requires that we should give them their widest application in the present instance. If it were just to refund the expenditures heretofore made in a common cause, it is so now in a ratio enhanced by the magnitude of the issues involved in the pending contest.

In one aspect it is scarcely necessary to argue this question, for the simple reason, as already suggested, that if we are not able to carry the war debts of the States as a common charge upon the nation, we are not able to carry them where they are now placed. The refunding policy which I have proposed, neither adds to, nor subtracts from the debt of the loyal people, who are now struggling for the Union and for nationality. It simply equalizes the burden, and places it impartially on the shoulders of those who are to be benefited by the victorious issue of the war, for the support of which the State debts have been contracted.

The real question of interest in this connection is whether we are able, as a nation, to sustain the entire debt which the close of the war will leave upon us, without oppressively burdening the business, and crippling the energies of the people. I propose to show by some simple facts and figures

that we are abundantly equal to the great trial, and that in bearing it we are assuming far less responsibility in proportion to wealth, population, and prospective development, than has been successfully and triumphantly assumed in the past by another great nation, and even by ourselves at the organization of the Government.

In estimating the debt with which we are to be encumbered, it is not wise, in my judgment, to adopt a too sanguine anticipation of the speedy close of the war. Very many gentlemen, whose opinions the public are accustomed to respect, predict the entire suppression of the rebellion within the ensuing summer. For myself, I cannot indulge in so pleasing a prospect. Whatever false reckonings we may have made in the past in regard to the shortness of the war, I have latterly been of those who believe that the leading conspirators of the South intend at all events to prolong the struggle until the contest for the Presidency is ended. They have a hope—baseless enough it seems to us—that in some way they are to be benefited by the result of that election, and hence they will hold out until it is decided, and with a view, indeed, of affecting its decision. Let us not then deceive ourselves with regard to the speedy reduction of the enormous expenditures to which we are now subjected. It is wiser for us to look soberly at facts as they are, and not beguile ourselves with rose-colored views of facts as we wish they might be. Let us make our calculations in regard to the national debt, therefore, on the assumption that the war will last until July, 1865, instead of closing in July, 1864, as has been so confidently assumed by many. Should it come to a termination earlier, our error will be the happiest feature in our entire calculation.

Heretofore the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury, in regard to the amount of the national debt at any given period, have proved astonishingly accurate. And the safest feature of his estimates is seen in the fact that he has in no instance understated the prospective amount of indebtedness as actually ascertained, when the day for which the estimate was made had arrived. For instance, in December, 1862, the Secretary stated that the debt July 1st, 1863, would be \$1,122,297,403.24. In fact, when the time arrived, the debt had only reached \$1,098,793,181.37, or some twenty-

four millions less than Mr. Chase estimated. With fuller data for reckoning than when he made the calculation just referred to, the Secretary now estimates that if the war shall continue so long, at its current rate of cost, our debt in July, 1865, will reach the large sum of \$2,231,935,190.37. To this vast amount let us add \$150,000,000 to be incurred by refunding to States as proposed in the measure I am advocating, and \$150,000,000 more to cover unforeseen expenses in closing up the great contest, and you have a grand total of *twenty-five hundred millions of dollars*, the annual interest and ultimate redemption of which must be provided for by the nation. Besides contracting this enormous debt, we shall have expended all the current receipts of the Treasury in conducting the war, amounting in the aggregate, for the four years, to more than five hundred millions, making thus a gross outlay of over three thousand millions as the cost of subduing the rebellion—an expenditure of *two millions* per day from the inception to the close of the contest.

Let us see how, by the experience of our own country in a former generation, as well as by the experience of another great people, we may hope to meet this burden with confidence and courage—bearing it without oppression when it is heaviest, and coming in good season to its total discharge, or by attainment of superior strength making it so light as to be practically disregarded.

At the organization of our Government in 1789, the entire population, free and slave, was under four millions, scattered along the seaboard from the St. Croix to the St. Mary's, not fifty thousand in all living one hundred miles distant from the flow of the Atlantic tide. Facilities for intercommunication were greatly restricted; manufactures and the arts were in feeble infancy; agriculture was rude and not highly remunerative, because commerce, its handmaid, was languishing and waiting to be quickened to enterprise and vigor. The entire valuation of the thirteen States, according to the weight of authority, did not exceed six hundred millions of dollars—three hundred millions less than the valuation of Massachusetts to-day, and not one-half so great as that of Pennsylvania. Property at that time was ill adapted to bear taxation, profits were small, and to the political economist, measuring the condition and capacity of

the country, it seemed utterly unable to carry a debt of any considerable magnitude. And yet our ancestors did not hesitate to assume the burden of ninety millions of dollars—more than one-seventh of all the property they owned. Mr. Jefferson, who was the most distrustful of all the statesmen of that day in regard to the ability of the nation to sustain the load, was yet willing to say that it could be easily borne if our annual increase of population and property could maintain an average of *five per cent.*—then the most sanguine estimate which any one dared to place on the future growth of the country. Had we realized only the ratio of increase assumed by Mr. Jefferson, our population in 1860 would have been some fifteen instead of thirty-one millions, and our wealth twenty-seven hundred millions instead of sixteen thousand millions. Upon Mr. Jefferson's assumed basis of increase, the debt would never have been oppressive; but with the rate of growth actually realized, the country paid the interest on the debt and accumulated a fund for its redemption with such ease that the people never felt they were taxed. And yet I hope to show that our debt at the close of this war will be relatively lighter than the debt which our Revolutionary fathers thus assumed, and proceeded so early and so easily to discharge.

Look also at the case of Great Britain. At the close of her gigantic struggle with Napoleon, in 1815, the national debt of that kingdom amounted to £861,000,000 sterling, or *forty-three hundred millions of dollars*; and for readier comparison I shall speak of her debt in dollars rather than in pounds. Her entire population at that time was less than twenty millions, and the valuation of all her property was about nine thousand five hundred millions of dollars. She owed, indeed, nearly half of all she possessed. Her population was less than two-thirds of what ours is to-day. Her entire property was not three-fifths of what ours was by the census of 1860, while her debt was *eighteen hundred millions of dollars* greater than ours will be in July, 1865.

And in contracting this debt she was compelled to sell her bonds at the most enormous sacrifice. From 1792 to 1815 her debt was increased three thousand millions of dollars, and yet in exchange for this amount of bonds she received in money but \$1,730,000,000, thus submitting to a discount

of \$1,270,000,000. In other words, England, during the twenty-three years of continental war only realized on an average for the whole period, \$100 in money in exchange for \$173 of her bonds. This, be it remembered, was the average for the whole time. As the contest waxed desperate, her sacrifices became desperate in proportion, and the money which enabled her to fight the decisive campaign of Waterloo, was obtained by selling her bonds to the European bankers at less than fifty cents on the dollar.

Compared with this, our sacrifices on our National securities have thus far been light, not averaging from the inception of the war to the present day, with all elements of expenditure fairly estimated, more than from twenty to twenty-five per cent., reckoning on the gold basis.

To meet their enormous debt, the British people had nothing but the commercial and industrial resources of the United Kingdom, whose whole area is not double that of the single State of Missouri. They had a population of but twenty millions, as already stated, subject to no increase from immigration, and growing in half a century no more than we have added during the last decade. And yet, on this restricted area, the enterprise and energy of the British people have increased their property, until it is valued at *thirty-three thousand millions of dollars*; and in defiance of the large expenditure resulting from several costly wars since 1815, they have actually reduced their debt some three hundred millions of dollars. Their steady progress in wealth under their large debt, is comprehended in the statement that the average property *per capita* in 1815 was less than five hundred dollars, and in 1861 about eleven hundred dollars. In 1815 some twenty-five per centum of all the earning and income of the people was absorbed in taxation, and in 1861 less than ten per centum was taken for the same object. In 1815 the proportion of taxes per head for the whole people exceeded seventeen dollars, and in 1861 it had fallen below ten dollars.

These brief details of British experience show how a great debt, without being absolutely reduced to any considerable extent, becomes relatively lighter by the increased capacity to bear it. The wealth *per capita* of the entire population in a period of forty-six years has more than doubled; the ag-

gregate property of the realm has more than trebled; and all this on a fixed area of one hundred and twenty thousand square miles, and with a population increasing at the slow rate of only one per cent. per annum. If such results can be wrought out by a kindred people, against such obstacles and hindrances, what may we not hope to accomplish under the auspicious circumstances that surround our own nation!

In the light of the National experiences we have been glancing at, we may clearly read our own great future. It is not, indeed, a matter of surmise or speculative query, but of well-founded and confident calculation—a calculation which, however sanguine it may be made, will have its only error in falling short of results actually to be realized.

The war closing in July, 1865, will leave us in this condition: a nation numbering some thirty-three millions of people, owning over sixteen thousand millions of property, and carrying a debt of twenty-five hundred millions of dollars. The proportion between debt and property will be just about the same that it was when the Union was formed, while the ratio of our advance and the largely enhanced productiveness of agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial pursuits, gives the present generation an advantage that renders the debt far less burdensome at the very outset.

And if the revolutionary debt became in a very brief period so light as to be unnoticed, why may we not, with a vastly accelerated ratio of progress, assume a similar auspicious result with regard to the debt we are now contracting? Were our future advance in wealth and population to be no more rapid than Great Britain's has been since 1815, we should at the close of the present century have a population of forty-five million souls, and a property amounting to fifty thousand millions of dollars. Even upon his ratio of progress our entire debt would cease to be felt as a burden. But upon the increase of population and development of wealth to be so assuredly anticipated, the debt would be so small, in comparison with the total resources of the nation, as to become absolutely inconsiderable. Let us look at the figures.

According to the estimates made in the report of the Eighth census, and made with great care upon very complete data, our population in the year 1900 will be one hun-

dred millions. The property of the country during the last decade increased one hundred and twenty-six per cent.; our aggregate wealth in 1850 being a trifle over *seven thousand millions of dollars*, and in 1860 exceeding *sixteen thousand millions*. Some of the States exhibit an almost fabulous progress—Iowa, the highest in ratio, gaining nine hundred and forty-two per cent., or nearly one hundred per cent. per annum; and California, not far behind her, making a gain of eight hundred and thirty-eight per cent.; the average of all the States being, as I have already stated, one hundred and twenty-six per centum. The aggregate addition of wealth for the ten years was thus absolutely larger than all that had been accumulated in the country from the settlement of Jamestown and Plymouth down to the year 1850. We can hardly hope to maintain this enormous ratio for each successive decade, but it is assuming very much less than the average of the past would justify, to say that our property will increase in double the ratio of our population. From 1790 to 1860 our population increased in all about seven hundred per cent., while our property increased some twenty-six hundred per cent., thus showing an increase in property nearly fourfold greater than in population. A population of one hundred millions in A. D. 1900 implies an increase of two hundred and ten per cent., on the census of 1860. Doubling the ratio, for increase in property, gives us a gain of four hundred and twenty per cent., which would give a total valuation at the time specified of *eighty-five thousand millions of dollars*, of which vast amount our estimated national debt would constitute only the trifling proportion of three per centum. The embarrassment to the country under such circumstances would prove as light as would a debt of \$3,000 to an individual who had an otherwise unencumbered estate of \$100,000, the estate all the while receiving a steady increase of ten per cent. per annum.

All that I have said has been based on the supposition of the debt remaining at a fixed sum, the country simply paying the interest. As a matter of fact, however, it is perfectly obvious that in the progress and prosperity of the future, one of our first acts will be to provide for the gradual but absolute redemption of the principal. That this will be consummated without oppressively adding to the annual

burden of taxes, may be inferred, with certainty, from a slight examination of our capacity to make increased payments proportioned to our increased amount of consolidated wealth. The time of redemption will depend wholly on the will of the tax-payers: but it is quite evident that the condition of the country may justify its being done as rapidly as Mr. Hamilton proposed to redeem the debt which he funded in 1790. The period assigned by him was thirty-five years, and so well based were his calculations, that the entire debt, augmented largely and unexpectedly as it was by the war of 1812, was paid in forty-four years from the date of funding: and in 1834 the United States found itself owing but thirty-seven thousand dollars.

To those who may be disposed to doubt the future progress of our country according to the ratio assumed, a few familiar considerations in respect to our resources may be recalled with advantage. We occupy a territory at least three million square miles in extent: within a fraction as large as the whole of Europe. Our habitable and cultivable area is indeed larger than that of all Europe, to say nothing of the superior fertility and general productiveness of our soil. So vast is our extent that though we may glibly repeat its numerical measure, we find it most difficult to form any just conception of it. The State of Texas alone is equal in area to the Empire of France and the kingdom of Portugal united; and yet these two monarchies support a population of forty millions, while Texas has but six hundred thousand inhabitants. Or, if we wish for a comparative measure nearer home, let me state that the area of Texas is greater than that of the six New England States, together with New York and New Jersey and Pennsylvania and Ohio and Indiana all combined. California, the second State in size, is equal in extent to the kingdom of Spain and the kingdom of Belgium together. Spain and Belgium have twenty millions of people, while California has not half a million. And we might pursue this species of comparison almost indefinitely, clearly showing that in capacity and assured destiny our individual States, if peaceful and united, are to become as wealthy, as populous, and as powerful as the separate great nations of Europe. Mere territorial extent does not of course imply future greatness,

though it is one great requisite to it. And in our case it is so vast an element that we may be pardoned for dwelling on it with emphasis and iteration. The land that is still in the hands of our government, not sold nor even pre-empted, amounts to a thousand millions of acres—an extent of territory thirteen times as large as Great Britain, and equal in area to all the kingdoms of Europe, with Russia and Turkey alone excepted.

Combined with this almost limitless expanse of territory we have facilities for the acquisition and consolidation of wealth—varied, magnificent, and immeasurable. Our agricultural resources, bounteous and boundless by nature, are, by the application of mechanical skill and labor-saving machinery, receiving a development each decade, which a century in the past would have failed to secure, and which a century in the future will place beyond all present power of computation—giving us so far the lead in the production of those staple articles essential to life and civilization that we become the arbiter of the world's destiny without aiming at the world's empire. The single State of Illinois, cultivated to its capacity, can produce as large a crop of cereals as has ever been grown within the limits of the United States; while Texas, if peopled but half as densely as Maryland even, could give an annual return of cotton larger than the largest that has ever been grown in all the cotton States together. Our facilities for commerce and exchange, both domestic and foreign—who shall measure them? Our oceans, our vast inland seas, our marvelous and unlimited flow of navigable streams, our canals, our network of railroads more than thirty thousand miles in extent, greater than the railroads of all Europe and all the world besides—these give us avenues of trade and channels of communication, both natural and artificial, such as no other nation has ever enjoyed, and which tend to the production of wealth with a rapidity not to be measured by any standard of the past. The enormous field for manufacturing industry in all its complex and endless variety—with our raw material, our wonderful motive-power both by water and steam, our healthful climate, our cheap carriage, our home consumption, our foreign demand—foreshadows a traffic whose magnitude and whose profit will in no long period surpass the

and the other two were in the same condition as the first. The last was a small, dark, irregular mass, which I could not identify. The body of the fish was covered with a thin skin, which was easily removed. The flesh was white and firm, with a slight texture. The taste was somewhat like that of a trout or salmon, but less strong. The smell was faint and slightly musty. The fish was about 12 inches long and weighed approximately 1.5 pounds.

During this year his fame became such that his speech on the taxing of exports agitated the country in a most extraordinary manner. It is so interesting as a matter of political history that it is inserted, although the reasons which led it out have long since ceased, through legislation & economic changes.

b of Mr. Blaine, of Maine, in favor of Amending
the Constitution, by striking out the clause which
the taxing of exports, delivered in the House of

Representatives, second session, Thirty-Eighth Congress,
Thursday, March 2d, 1865 :

MR. SPEAKER: I am aware that it is a very grave step for Congress to propose an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. A change in that "great charter of our liberties" should be made only after the most mature deliberation, and under the conviction of an imperious public necessity. There has always been in the American mind a well-founded and justifiable prejudice against tampering with the provisions of our organic law—a prejudice so settled, and so strong, that it has been overcome in but three instances since the organization of our Government, in 1789. I trust, and confidently believe, that the fourth instance will be found in the adoption of that great amendment in the interest of impartial freedom which Congress has so recently submitted to the States for their acceptance or rejection.

I speak now in advocacy of a fifth amendment—one which in my judgment is absolutely essential to the financial success of the Government, and to the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural prosperity of our country in all future time. It is an amendment which I had the honor to propose during the last session of Congress, and which was embodied in the following resolution, adopted by the House on my motion, on the 24th of March, 1864 :

Resolved, That the Judiciary Committee be directed to inquire into the expediency of proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, by striking out the fifth clause of section nine, article one, which forbids the levying of "a tax, or duty, on articles exported from the State."

The subject was referred anew, in December last, to the Committee of Ways and Means, and it was expected, until very recently, that it would be brought before the House for definite action, before the expiration of the Thirty-Eighth Congress. The pressure of public measures already on the Calendar seems now to forbid all hope of securing a vote on the proposition during this session; but I cannot allow the occasion to pass without saying a few words in defense and support of the proposed amendment, and of the great change which it contemplates in the future administration of our system of taxation and finance.

The subject of taxing exports, or rather of giving Congress the power to do it, was discussed at great length in the Convention of 1787; and one of the marked errors of subsequent times is the very general belief that the Convention inserted the constitutional prohibition by a very decisive vote. Another erroneous belief, quite as current as the foregoing, is that which attributes the advocacy of prohibitory clause to the Southern or "staple States," as George Mason termed them, and the opposition thereto to the Northern States. The facts of history do not sustain either of these assumptions, as I shall proceed to show, by a record that is undisputed and indisputable.

Any one who will take the pains to peruse the synopsis of the debates of the Constitutional Convention, as given in the Madison papers, will be struck with the fact that many of the strongest men of that august body—the really far-sighted statesmen among its members—were opposed to the insertion of the clause prohibiting a tax on exports; and of these there were even more conspicuous examples from the South than from the North.

Mr. Madison himself, at one point of the discussion, expressed himself thus :

"As we ought to be governed by national and permanent views, it is a sufficient argument for giving the power over exports that a tax, though it may not be expedient at present, may be so hereafter. A proper regulation of exports may, and probably will, be necessary hereafter, and for the same purposes as the regulation of imports, namely, for revenue, for domestic manufactures, and for procuring equitable regulations of commerce from other nations."

At another stage of the debate, on the same important subject, Mr. Madison spoke as follows :

"First, the power of laying taxes on exports is proper in itself, and as the States cannot, with propriety, exercise it separately, it ought to be vested in them collectively; secondly, it might, with particular advantage, be exercised with regard to articles in which America is not rivaled in foreign markets, as tobacco, etc.; thirdly, the Southern States, being most in danger, and most needing naval pro-

tection, could the less complain if the burden should fall somewhat heaviest on them."

Mr. John Dickinson, of Delaware, said that:

"The power of taxing exports might be inconvenient at present, but it must be of dangerous consequence to prohibit it with respect to all articles and forever."

Mr. Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, in reply to what he regarded as sectional arguments, remarked that:

"Local considerations should not impede the general interest. He considered the taxing of exports to be in many cases highly politic. All countries having peculiar articles, tax the exportation of them, as France her wines and brandies."

And he added in another place:

"That the state of our own country would change, and render duties on exports of peculiar raw materials politic in view of encouraging American manufactures." And he concluded by declaring that "*taxes on exports would be often more proper and easy than taxes on imports,*" and that "To prohibit it altogether was so radically objectionable that it might cost the whole system the support of some members."

Mr. James Wilson, from the same State, one of the purest and ablest men of the Convention, followed Morris in support of the same position. He declared himself "decidedly against prohibiting general taxes on exports," and in subsequently debating the question, he remarked that:

"In favoring the general power over exports he opposed the particular interest of his own State. To deny this power is to take from the common Government half the regulation of trade. It was his opinion that a power over exports might be more effectual than over imports in obtaining beneficial treaties of commerce."

Mr. Rufus King, of Massachusetts, opposed the prohibition as a measure "introducing a weakness which will render common defense more difficult."

But I need not multiply these quotations. I have cited enough to show that their prohibitory clause was not inserted in the Constitution without very serious opposition from many of the leading minds of the Convention. The citation I have made demonstrates also that their opposition was not based on narrow, local, and sectional grounds, but that it sprang from great national considerations, overriding all these. Neither the support nor hostility to the measure was determined by geographical lines. The statesmen from whom I have quoted, represented alike the New England States, the Middle States, and the Southern States—the three great divisions then comprising the whole country. So on the other hand, among those who labored to deprive the General Government of all power over exports, we find Gerry of Massachusetts, Langdon of New Hampshire, and Ellsworth of Connecticut, quite as zealous and resolute as Mercer of Maryland, Mason of Virginia, and Rutledge of South Carolina.

When the Convention approached a vote on the question, Mr. Madison, perceiving the probability of the prohibitory clause being adopted, attempted to have it amended so that an export tax might be laid by Congress "with the concurrence of two-thirds of the House." He stated that he considered this "a lesser evil than total prohibition," and on this proposition the test vote was taken. Eleven States were present; five voted in favor of Mr. Madison's motion and six against it. Of the six, Virginia was one, and her vote was carried against it by a majority of one in her delegation—it appearing on the record that Mr. Blair, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Randolph voted no, while General Washington and Mr. Madison voted aye. A single member of the Virginia delegation, against the wise and considerate judgment of Washington and Madison, is thus responsible for the vote which deprived Congress of all power over the exports of the country. No important provision in the entire Constitution was adopted by so slight a majority, and against the strenuous opposition of leading men.

Thus much, Mr. Speaker, as to the origin of this prohibitory clause, with the circumstances attending its adoption. Stoutly as its introduction was resisted, it has remained in the Constitution without cavil or question from

that day to this—a proposition to strike it out never having been submitted in Congress prior to the one I am now discussing. Indeed, the perfect ease with which the National treasury has been filled from tariff duties, up to the beginning of the present war, continually obviated the necessity of looking to other sources of revenue, and hence very naturally little thought has been given to the immense sum that might be derived from a judicious tax on exports.

But Mr. Madison and his distinguished associates, from whom I have quoted, admonished the Convention that the time might come when an export tax would be a necessity, for the triple object of obtaining revenue of encouraging domestic manufacturers, and for procuring equitable treaties of commerce with foreign nations. The period thus anticipated by the wise statesmen of 1787, has arrived, and for the maintenance of our National credit in the trials and crisis of the immediate and distant future, there is an absolute necessity that Congress shall have the power to levy a tax on exports. Of course, a wise and cautious discrimination is to be exercised in selecting the articles and commodities that will bear a tax of this character. The general and obvious distinction is to tax such and such only as have no competing product in foreign marts, or at all events such weak competition as will give us the-command of the market after the commodity has paid its export dues in this country. As an illustration, take cotton, which is our leading export in time of peace. It is believed with confidence that the American product can pay an export tax of five cents per pound, and yet with ease maintain its pre-eminence in the markets of England and the European continent. Our export in a single year has reached three million two hundred thousand bales of five hundred pounds each, and it would rapidly run beyond that figure after peace is restored and the competition of free labor is applied to its production. But if it should never go beyond the quantity named, an export tax of five cents per pound would yield a revenue of *eighty million dollars* from this single article, as any one will see by a moment's calculation.

Tobacco and naval stores also afford a large margin for an export tax, owing to the superior quality and quantity of the American production of each article. Without at

tempting to weary the House with a parade of statistics, it may be sufficient to state that in the judgment of our best economists, the three commodities to which I have referred would jointly yield in time of peace a coin revenue of \$100,-000,000, without in any degree impairing their command of the markets where they have always been purchased so readily. Of tobacco alone, our export in a single year has exceeded the enormous figure of two hundred million pounds, and a very large proportion of the revenue of France, and some other European governments is derived from the duty laid upon its importation. Might we not, at all events, share with foreign nations the advantage of the enormous tax which this article of luxury will bear, making them pay a moiety into our coffers instead of monopolizing it all for their own? Should petroleum continue to be developed in such immense quantities, without being found elsewhere, it, too, will in due time bear a very considerable export tax, as indeed will all articles (without attempting their specific enumeration) whose production is peculiar to this country, or whose quality may be greatly superior to products of similar kind in other countries, or, in the comprehensive phrase of Mr. Madison, "articles in which America is not rivaled in foreign markets."

The fear that has often been expressed, that the Congressional power to tax exports might be used to oppress certain sections, and to discriminate against particular commodities, is manifestly groundless. It is always safe to trust to self-interest in a nation as well as in an individual. The highest National interest in the matter we are discussing, is to encourage exports in every honorable and practicable way; and the moment that an export tax should tend to check or decrease exportation, that moment it would be abolished or reduced. Of course, there must be exportation before revenue can be derived from an export tax, and hence I repeat that the interest which underlies the whole design, affords the most absolute guaranty against any oppressive attempt to discriminate against any section or any particular commodity.

Intelligent gentlemen will tell us, however, that Government can just as efficiently collect the tax on any given article through the excise system of our internal revenue as

by levying an export tax, and they hence argue against any necessity for the proposed amendment to the Constitution. I take issue upon this point, and I maintain that an excise tax upon raw products intended to be shipped to foreign countries will prove disadvantageous, if not absolutely disastrous, both to the producer and the Government, and that the export tax is far preferable, viewed from any standpoint whatever.

Let us analyze the process and effect in the case of cotton, as an example, assuming that it is but fair to apply the same arguments to all other articles of large export.

Practically, an excise tax should be as far removed from the source of production as possible, the more remote the less the burden ; the nearer it comes the more oppressive it grows. Government derives to-day a very large revenue from distilled spirits, malt liquors and wines ; but should an attempt be made to tax the corn, the barley, and the grapes out of which these articles are made, the effect would be most disastrous. Tobacco in its manufactured state pays a very large revenue with perfect ease ; but if a tax should be laid on the leaf, I predict that production would be greatly discouraged and the revenue correspondingly diminished. So, Sir, if you lay an excise tax upon cotton, you increase immensely the difficulties of production, and must of necessity diminish the amount produced. The export tax which I have stated cotton would bear, amounts to twenty-five dollars per shipping bale, and the attempt to collect that amount by excise tax on each plantation before the cotton could be removed for sale, would prove an intolerable burden to the producer. The small farmer, with a crop of only forty bales, would be compelled to raise \$1,000 in coin or lawful money before he could send a pound of his cotton to market ; and the large planter, with a thousand bales, would have to make an advance of \$25,000, besides all the cost of production, before he could realize a penny in return.

Such a system of taxation would be destructive ; it would place the enterprising producer, who most of all deserves the patronage and protection of the Government, under a perpetual mortgage, and would subject him to the exactions and heavy charges of the speculative usurers, who would

at once spring up to feast and fatten upon his capital and his industry. The law which would permit that would be reckless of the highest interests of agriculture, commerce, and the general prosperity of the country.

And now, Sir, a glance, very briefly, at the other side. Let cotton be relieved from all excise tax, and let it be bought and sold, and freely moved from point to point within our own country, without tax or charge, of any kind whatever. Let the planter carry it to market without any hindrance, and when it reaches the point of exportation, having passed from the hands of the producer into the possession of the capitalist, or speculator, let the Government, as it is placed on shipboard for transportation to foreign markets, exact its tax of five cents per pound. Collected there and then, it comes from those who are able to pay it, who pay it just on the eve of realizing its return on the other side of the water, from the pockets of foreign buyers, and who pay it in a way that does not embarrass or oppress the producer, nor tend to decrease production.

Not the least advantage, Mr. Speaker, in this mode of collecting the tax, is the cheapness with which it can be done. The points of shipment of cotton are so few that you may count them on your fingers; and the tendency, owing to the converging of water courses and railroad lines, is against any increase in the number of these ports. The same officers of customs, that are already there, to collect your tariff duties, can perform the labor of collecting the export duties, without a dollar's additional expense, beyond the salaries of a few extra clerks that the increase of business might demand. Compare with this the vast expense of sending an army of excisemen throughout all the cotton and tobacco plantations, and you will find that the system of export duties would effect a saving of millions to the Government, simply in the mode of collection. And, Sir, you could invent no more offensive system of taxation than would be involved in sending your Government agents to every rural home in the planting regions, to interrogate the farmers as to the number of bales in his cotton crop, or how many pounds of tobacco he had raised. The officials, who should perambulate the country on such errands, would acquire, in popular opinion, as bad a reputation as Dr.

Johnson, in his dictionary, fastened on the English excise-man, "an odious wretch, employed to collect an unjust tax."

The great statesmen whom I have quoted in the earlier portion of my remarks as against the insertion of this prohibitory clause in the Constitution, among other grounds of opposition to it, stated that an export tax might be necessary "for the encouragement of domestic manufactures." Sir, this result would be realized in its fullest extent if cotton should be subjected to an export tax of five cents per pound, leaving that consumed at home free of duty except the excise tax, which would be levied upon it in the various forms of its manufacture. With this vast advantage in the raw material we should cease to wrangle here about tariffs, for we could in our home markets undersell the fabrics of Europe, and should soon compete with them in the markets of the world. The export tax as compared with the excise, would thus prove beneficent to all the interests of our country, stimulating the production of the raw material and developing the manufacturing enterprise of the land in a ratio compared with which the accomplishments of the past would seem tame and inconsiderable.

The amendment which I am advocating, Mr. Speaker, is not a snap judgment against the interests of the Southern States, to be hurried through here in the absence of their representatives for fear their presence might defeat it. If there be any logical truth in the views I have so imperfectly presented, it is the interest of the planting States to have an export tax, and were those States fully represented on this floor to-day I have no hesitation in saying that they would from necessity and self-interest support this amendment. And for this obvious reason, Sir : it is evident to every one that when this war is over and the Federal authority firmly re-established, cotton and other Southern products must pay their fair share of the national revenue, and the choice is simply between an excise tax and an export tax. With such an alternative no one can doubt that the South would choose the export duty as the least burdensome and the most advantageous to its peculiar local interests. The industrial system, the financial ease, the vital prosperity of the planting States, would demand an export tax in prefer-

one to another that could be laid on their products by the federal government.

As far as the rest of our country Mr. Speaker, the great task and test of statesmanship will be in the administration of our finances and the wise distribution of the burdens of taxation. As I began our career is an independent Nation we had money without credit, and with an oppressive load of debt, but a great genius in the person of Hamilton effected order out of chaos, gave stability to the government, imparted confidence to the people, and established public credit on a firm basis that until the breaking out of this wicked rebellion we had scarcely known in our's serious embarrassment to our National Treasury. Unless we are very, and circumstances of a similar we may not be so fortunate as we have been in the past. An immense additional burden will be required to meet the interest of the National debt to maintain our army and navy—even to a peaceable existence, and to defray the military expenses of our national defense. The sum needed for these objects may be raised in the following way to cripple and embarrass the rebellion, and the general interests of the whole country; or on the other hand the rebellion may be so equitably distributed and so easily assessed that the burden will be inappreciable to the people. When Mr. G. Secretary of the Treasury, said "I comprehend the finances and avoid the latter part of my life inured with a gluttony of power in the provinces. He must now compare him the three great avenues of taxation—the tariff, the excise system and the duties on exports; and shall be empowered to use each in its appropriate place by Congress and legislation. At present only two of these modes of taxation are available, and the absence of the third, is the language of an eminent statesman already quoted, "makes from the general government half the regulation of trade." It is for Congress to say whether the people shall have an opportunity to change the organic law in this important respect, or whether with a blind disregard of the future we shall rush forward, reckless of the financial disasters that may result from a failure to do our duty here.

Blaine's position with reference to the currency was ever

on the side of "an honest dollar," and most vigorously for ten years did he assail the proposition for issuing an irredeemable paper currency. During the Thirty-Ninth Congress, one phase of the question came up, and no description of his manner or words will serve so well as the speech itself.

In moving to call back from the Ways and Means Committee and lay on the table the Gold Bill introduced by Thaddeus Stevens, which motion was carried by the decisive vote of 73 to 52, Mr. Blaine said :

"I move to reconsider the vote whereby the House yesterday referred to the Committee of Ways and Means a bill introduced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Stevens) 'to prevent gold and silver coin and bullion from being paid or exchanged for a greater value than their real current value, and for preventing any note or bill issued by the United States, and made lawful money and a legal tender, from being received for a smaller sum than is herein specified.' I believe, Mr. Speaker, that this bill has been productive of great mischief in the brief twenty-four hours that it has been allowed to float before the public mind as a measure seriously entertained by this House. And I believe that still more mischief will ensue every day and every hour the House stands committed to such legislation, even by the motion of courtesy which refers the bill to a committee. The provisions of the bill are very extraordinary, and but for the respect I feel for the distinguished gentleman who introduced it, I should say they were absurd and monstrous. Let me read two or three of these provisions :

2. That a dollar note issued by the Government, declared lawful money and legal tender, is declared of equal value for all purposes as gold and silver coin of like denomination.

3. That a contract made payable in coin may be payable in legal tender United States notes, and that no difference in sale or value shall be allowed between them.

5. That no person shall, by any device, shift, or contrivance, receive, or pay, or contract to receive or pay any

Treasury or other note issued by the United States for circulation as money, and declared legal tender, for less than their lawfully expressed value; and any offender, upon conviction, shall suffer imprisonment not exceeding six months and a fine equal to the full amount of the sum specified in said note.

6. That if any person shall, in the purchase or sale of gold or silver coin or bullion, agree to receive in payment notes of corporations or individuals at less than par value, he shall be deemed to have offended against the provisions of this act, and shall be punished accordingly.

I forbear to recite the remainder of the bill. I have read enough to show that if it should become a law the entire population on the Pacific coast would be liable to indictment and conviction for a criminal offense, simply because they will persist in believing that in the present condition of our currency a gold dollar is worth more than a paper dollar. And still further, not limiting the scope of the bill to protection of Government currency, the gentleman from Pennsylvania proposes to punish, as for a misdemeanor, any one who shall agree to sell gold and receive in payment 'notes of corporations or individuals at less than par value.'

The whole bill, Sir, aims at what is simply impossible. You cannot make a gold dollar worth less than it is, or a paper dollar worth more than it is, by a Congressional declaration. I think we had experience enough in that direction with the famous Gold Bill at the last session. We passed that measure after a very severe pressure and with great promises as to the wonders it would work in Wall Street. It continued on the statute book for some twelve days,—gold advancing at a frightful rate every day until its repeal was effected. The bill now under consideration has already had a most pernicious effect, and should it become a law, no man can measure its fatal influence. It is for these reasons that I desire to have its reference reconsidered"

It must have been a triumph indeed for Blaine, when after years of study, work and opposition, he saw slavery completely eradicated, and this land a land of the free in fact as in name. It is almost fascinating to see how step

by step he led on contending constantly until the institution he hated in his boyhood was destroyed in his prime. Many measures were proposed, many defeated, for the settlement of this fearful question. But it is remarkable to note how universally the measures he proposed or advocated, came at last to be adopted by the nation. In the Thirty-Ninth Congress he made several short speeches on the several amendments to the Constitution, but only two of them can be inserted here. Those were upon the basis of representation, a question growing out of the enfranchisement of slaves.

MR. BLAINE. Mr. Speaker : If there had not been such an evident indisposition on both sides of the House to proceed to an immediate vote on this question, I should not have asked any time ; although, as the original mover of the resolution, which appears in another form, which form I do not like, I might be supposed to have some little desire to say a word in regard to it. I wish, in the first instance, to correct a mere question of figures which I quoted yesterday from the table prepared under the auspices of the gentleman who is at the head of the Committee of Ways and Means (Mr. Morrill), by which he showed that the suffrage basis of white males over twenty-one would give to the State of New York thirty-six members, and to the State of Pennsylvania twenty-four. The gentleman from New York (Mr. Conkling) controverted this proposition, and I now reassert it. The gentleman's own table differs only a unit from mine. It gives thirty-five to New York and twenty-four to Pennsylvania, making a net gain to New York in the one case of four members, in the other of five. Well, that is not a very vast change in either case. It is not "so deep as a well nor so wide as a church door ; but 'tis enough" for Pennsylvania, I should think, and I hope, on the other side, it would be enough for New York. It is a tremendous dislocation of the relative strength of those States upon the floor.

But as the gentleman from New York, in introducing his figures, did not use them in support of the suffrage basis, of course I have no issue with him, because they supported nothing except a proposition on which both he and I agree ;

and so far as his argument went in that way it went against the conclusion he was contending for, presenting anew the spectacle of the waterman in the Pilgrim's Progress, who got his living by vigorously rowing in one direction while steadily looking in the other.

MR. CONKLING. I desire to answer not so much the argument as the witticism of my friend from Maine.

MR. BLAINE. Oh, no; no wit, either perpetrated or intended.

MR. CONKLING. Well, Mr. Speaker, we consider it very witty over here; but then we are so far off.

MR. BLAINE. Glad the gentleman thinks my wit will carry a long distance, but I cannot yield the floor now.

MR. KELLEY. Will the gentleman permit me to offer an amendment which I believe will remove much of the objection which is made?

MR. BLAINE. I will yield for the purpose of having it read.

The proposed amendment was read as follows:

Provided, That this article shall not be construed to affect the power of Congress to regulate the qualifications for electors of the most numerous branch of the Legislatures of the several States.

THE SPEAKER. The chair would state that there is an amendment pending, offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Stevens). Any amendment to the amendment must be germane to it. The only way in which the resolution could be amended now would be by offering a substitute embracing all its phraseology and any additional language decided.

MR. BLAINE. I must decline to yield further unless for the purpose of explanation. I was going on to remark that an additional reason adverse to the suffrage basis will be found in the fact that the moment you make suffrage the basis of distributing Representatives among the States, you inevitably, by logical sequence, make it the basis of distributing Representatives within the States. I want to be understood on this point. If we distribute representation on the basis of voters, the States will take it up by logical sequence, and within their own territory distribute their Rep-

resentatives on the basis of voters, and a city or district of country which might have a surplus or a deficiency of males over twenty-one years of age, would either aggrandize itself or lose its proper weight and power as the figures might go up or down.

You cannot resist that conclusion. That is one of the evils that will follow from the suffrage basis. Following that by a slight paradox, I think this amendment, excluding blacks from the basis of representation, will, by the operation of the same principle, have precisely the opposite effect in the South, namely: if you cut off the blacks from being enumerated in the basis of representation in the Southern States, the white population of those States will immediately distribute representatives within their own territory on the basis of white population. Therefore, the most densely populated negro districts will not be allowed to offset the most densely populated white districts.

It therefore becomes an immediate and pressing interest with those districts to enfranchise the negroes. Do you suppose the upland districts of Georgia and South Carolina, inhabited largely by whites, will, in the event of the adoption of this amendment, allow the distribution of Representatives to be made on the basis of the whole population? By no means. They will at once insist on the white basis within the State. Therefore, you make it the imperative, and most urgent interest of the late slave masters in the rice regions and densely populated negro districts in the South, to enfranchise the black man. The upland and rice regions to which I have referred, differ in soil, climate, air, sky, and population, as much as the Tierra Caliente and the Tierra Templada of Mexico do to-day, or as they did three hundred years ago.

While I shall vote for the proposition, I shall do so with some reluctance unless it is amended, and I do not regret, therefore, that the previous question was not sustained. I am egotistic enough to believe that the phraseology of the original resolution as introduced by me, was better than that employed in the pending amendment. The phrase "civil or political rights and privileges," which I employed, is broader and more comprehensive than the term "elective franchise," for I fear, with the gentleman from Illinois (Mr.

Farnsworth), that under the latter phrase the most vicious evasion might be practiced. As that gentleman has well said, they might make suffrage depend on ownership of fifty acres of land, and then prohibit any negro holding real estate; but no such mockery as this could be perpetrated under the provisions of the amendment as I originally submitted it.

MR. BINGHAM. Will the gentleman from Maine (Mr. Blaine) allow me to make a suggestion?

MR. BLAINE. Certainly.

MR. BINGHAM. I beg to notify the gentleman that this amendment of itself does not and cannot execute the purpose intended to be accomplished by it, unless Congress—

MR. BLAINE. If the gentleman is going to reply to my argument, I will not yield the floor. If he wants merely to make an explanation, I will hear him.

MR. BINGHAM. I apprehend that no possible amendment that can be suggested to the Constitution of the United States on this subject, will answer the purpose unless it is followed by further legislation.

MR. BLAINE. That may be so. But the man who shoots at the sun will come nearer to it than the man who does not draw the bow. I say the phraseology "civil or political rights and privileges," is more inclusive than that phrase "elective franchise." If you make it so that a State shall not count in her basis of representation any race to which "civil or political rights and privileges" are denied or abridged, then the objection of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Farnsworth) cannot stand, because the exclusion from holding real estate would be a denial of civil rights and privileges.

MR. BROMWELL. If the gentleman will permit me, I will say that the objection to this resolution is not that it is intended to provide for a representation based upon actual voters, but upon the population of the classes or races permitted to vote. If the gentleman will allow me, I will submit an amendment which I think will obviate the difficulty.

MR. BLAINE. I cannot yield for any such purpose. There is one other objection to the resolution as reported, and that is a point to which I wish to call the attention of the chairman of the committee reporting it (Mr. Stevens),

and the gentleman from New York (Mr. Conkling), who defended it. The proposed amendment reads:

Provided, That whenever the elective Franchise shall be denied or abridged in any State on account of race or color, all persons of such race or color therein shall be excluded from the basis of representation.

Now, I contend that ordinary fair play—and certainly we can afford fair play where it does not cost anything—calls for this, namely, that if we exclude them from the basis of representation they should be excluded from the basis of taxation. Ever since this government was founded, taxation and representation have always gone hand in hand. If we shall exclude the principle in this amendment, we will be accused of a narrow, ill-liberal, mean-spirited, and money-grasping policy. More than that, we do not gain anything by it. What kind of taxation is distributed according to representation? Direct taxation. Now we do not have any direct taxation. There has been but twenty millions of direct taxation levied for the last fifty years. That tax was levied in 1861, and was not collected, but distributed among the States and held in the Treasury Department as an offset to the war claims of the States. So that as a matter of fact, we are putting an offensive discrimination in this proposition, and gaining nothing by it except obloquy. We are asked to put in something that will enable the Southern States to say, "you gouged us out of our fair protection in the basis of taxation when you had the power, and you gouged us so meanly in spirit that you gained nothing by it yourselves." I maintain that we should follow the precedent of former years. And if we exclude any portion of the population from representation, we should *pari passu* exclude them from taxation. That is fair play, and fair play is a jewel the world over.

Let me say in conclusion, Mr. Speaker, that my opposition to the suffrage basis is not grounded on the fact that Maine would lose by it. No statistics that have yet been presented show any loss to Maine; and on several theories of calculation we should gain one member. My opposition, therefore, is not grounded on local selfishness, but upon the belief that the principle is a dangerous one, that it is an abandonment of one of the oldest and safest landmarks of

the Constitution, and that it is a most perilous leap in the dark. It introduces a new principle in our government, whose evil tendency and results no man can measure to-day.

* * * * *

MR. BLAINE. Since the beginning of the present session, Mr. Chairman, we have had several propositions to amend the Federal Constitution with respect to the basis of representation in Congress. These propositions have differed somewhat in phrase, but they all embrace substantially the one idea of making suffrage instead of population the basis of apportioning Representatives ; or in other words, to give to the States in future a representation proportioned to their voters instead of their inhabitants.

The effect contemplated and intended by this change is perfectly well understood, and on all hands frankly avowed. It is to deprive the lately rebellious States of the unfair advantage of a large representation in this House, based on their colored population, so long as that population shall be denied political rights by the legislation of those States. The proposed constitutional amendment would simply say to those States, while you refuse to enfranchise your black population, you shall have no representation based on their numbers ; but admit them to civil and political rights, and they shall at once be counted to your advantage in the apportionment of Representatives.

The direct object thus aimed at, as it respects the rebellious States, has been so generally approved that little thought seems to have been given to the incidental evils which the proposed constitutional amendment would inflict on a large portion of the loyal States—evils, in my judgment, so serious and alarming as to lead me to oppose the amendment in any form in which it has yet been presented. As an abstract proposition, no one will deny that population is the true basis of representation ; for women, children, and other non-voting classes may have as vital an interest in the legislation of the country as those who actually deposit the ballot. Indeed, the very amendment we are discussing implies that population is the true basis, inasmuch as the exclusion of the black people of the South from political rights has suggested this indirectly coercive mode of securing them

those rights. Were the negroes to be enfranchised throughout the South to-day, no one would insist on the adoption of this amendment; and yet if the amendment shall be incorporated in the Federal Constitution, its incidental evils will abide in the loyal States long after the direct evil which it aims to cure, may have been eradicated in the Southern States.

If voters instead of population shall be made the basis of representation certain results will follow, not fully appreciated perhaps by some who are now urgent for the change. I will confine my examination of these results to the nineteen free States whose statistics are presented in the census of 1860; and the very radical change which the new basis of representation would produce among and between those States forms the ground of my opposition to it. The ratio of voters to population differs very widely in different sections, varying in the States referred to from a minimum of *nineteen per cent.* to a maximum of *fifty-eight per cent.*, and the changes which this fact would work in the relative representation of certain States would be monstrous. For example, California has a population of 358,110, and Vermont 314,369, and each has three representatives on this floor to-day. But California has 207,000 voters and Vermont has 87,000. Assuming voters as the basis of apportionment, and allowing Vermont three Representatives, California would be entitled to eight. The great State of Ohio, with nearly seven times the population of California, would have but little more than two and a half times the number of Representatives; and New York, with quite eleven times the population of California, would have in the new style apportionment less than five times as many members of this House. California, it may be said, presents an extreme case, but no more so than will continually recur for the next century under the stimulus to the emigration of young voters from the older States to the inviting fields of the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific Slope.

But cases less extreme than California will present quite as clearly the injurious working of the proposed change. Take two States—one in the East and one in the West—not greatly differing in aggregate population, for example, Massachusetts and Indiana, the former with 1,221,432 in-

habitants, the latter with 1,328,710. Massachusetts has to-day ten Representatives on this floor and Indiana has eleven, an exactly fair apportionment. But Massachusetts has only 227,429 voters, while Indiana has 316,824, and therefore on the new basis if Massachusetts should retain her ten Representatives Indiana would be allowed about fifteen, and if Indiana should be confined to her eleven, Massachusetts would be reduced to seven. And I might adduce many other instances showing the gross inequalities of representation to which the proposed amendment would subject the loyal States.

MR. STEVENS. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question.

MR. BLAINE. Certainly.

MR. STEVENS. What is the cause of the disparity of men and women in Massachusetts and in the New England States? Is it not that the men go to the Western States as emigrants?

MR. BLAINE. I suppose it is.

MR. STEVENS. Very well, is not Massachusetts represented there, then?

MR. BLAINE. Not according to some harangues we hear in this House, from gentlemen representing that section, on the tariff, as my distinguished friend on the Committee of Ways and Means knows very well. They go there, become identified with what they term Western interests, and, I am sorry to say, attack New England and New England interests.

MR. GRINNELL. Not all of them.

MR. BLAINE. And there are other objections, Mr. Chairman, to the proposed constitutional amendment. Basing representation on voters, unless Congress should be empowered to define their qualification, would tend to cheapen suffrage everywhere. There would be an unseemly scramble in all the States during each decade, to increase, by every means, the number of voters, and all conservative restrictions, such as the requirement of reading and writing, now enforced in some of the States, would be stricken down in a rash and reckless effort to procure an enlarged representation in the national councils. Foreigners would be invited to vote on a mere preliminary "declaration of intention,"

and the ballot, which cannot be too sacredly guarded, and which is the great and inestimable privilege of the American citizen, would be demoralized and disgraced everywhere.

And the worst feature of all is that there is no need, whatever, of precipitating the evils I have referred to. The great end of depriving the South of the representation which is based on the colored population, until that population is enfranchised, can be very readily secured, without accompanying it with these offensive inequalities of representation among the loyal States. The Constitution may be amended so as to prevent the one evil, without involving others of greater magnitude, and I venture to express the belief that the proposition submitted by me this morning, and, on my motion, referred to the Committee on Reconstruction, will, if adopted, secure the desired result. Let me briefly explain that proposition. The Constitution of the United States, article one, section two, clause three, reads as follows, to the first period :

“Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by (*adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a number of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons*).”

The portion which I have included in parenthesis has become meaningless and nugatory, by the adoption of the constitutional amendment which abolishes the distinction between “free persons” and all other persons,” and being thus a dead letter, might as well be formally struck out ; and in its stead I propose to insert the words included in parenthesis, so that the clause, as amended, will read thus :

“Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within the Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by (*taking the whole number of persons, except those to whom civil or political rights or privileges are denied or abridged, by the constitution or laws of any State, on account of race or color*).”

This is a very simple and direct way, it seems to me, of reaching the result aimed at without embarrassment to any

other question or interest. It leaves population, as heretofore, the basis of representation, does not disturb, in any manner, the harmonious relations of the loyal States, and it conclusively deprives the Southern States of all representation in Congress on account of the colored population so long as those States may choose to abridge or to deny to that population the political rights and privileges accorded to others. The adoption of this amendment, as a part of the Federal Constitution would, I venture to predict, secure the right of suffrage to the colored population throughout the South in a very few years. And I doubt if in any other mode that right can be secured so speedily, so certainly, and so enduringly.

It cannot be said that all the measures Blaine advocated concerning our shipping interests have been adopted. But that they will be accepted wholly, there seems now to be little doubt. The experience of the years since our commerce fell so largely into the hands of other nations has confirmed his position in many ways. It is interesting to notice what he thought about it, and what he said in 1866.

The question concerning the right to buy ships abroad being before the House, Blaine said :

"I think it important that the House should come back to a distinct understanding of the question involved in this bill, and I will state it as briefly as possible. At the beginning of the war, as I can show from reliable statistics in my hand, we had twenty-five hundred thousand tons of shipping engaged in the foreign trade. As the war grew hot and dangers multiplied on the ocean, eight hundred thousand tons of this shipping took refuge under a foreign flag. The flag of our own nation was hauled down, and protection was sought under the flag of our neutral enemy, Great Britain. I do not question the right of the owners of this shipping to act in this way, and many who did so are honorable and patriotic men. All I contend is that, having made their election, they shall abide by it. They escaped all the hazards to which our flag was subjected; they gained all the profits of their alien connection; and

for one I am not now willing to put them on the same ground with those ship-owners who took all the risks of standing by the American flag in good report and in evil report, in our dark days as well as in our bright days. The ship-owners who took British registers escaped the heavy war risks to which American registers were subjected, and now to place them on the same footing with those who hazarded everything rather than sail under a foreign flag, would be flagrantly unjust. To contend for such a policy is as illogical and absurd as the position of those who claimed for the Southern rebels all the advantages and immunities of belligerents outside the Union and citizens inside of it at the same time. The ship-owners who changed their registers sought the protection of Great Britain when there was danger at home; and now they wish, when that danger is over, to return to our flag and share the profits that can be derived from American registry. I think, Sir, it would be cruelly unjust for the American Congress to permit this policy, and thus turn their backs on those ship-owners who, under all the seductions of profit and against all the perils of war, refused to take refuge for a single hour under any other flag than that which was floating over the armies of the Union, and which protects us in this Capitol to day. I have said, Sir, that many who sought these foreign registers were high-minded, honorable, and patriotic men. I am personally acquainted with some of them, and it gives me pleasure to speak of them in this way. But, Sir, there is good reason to believe that all of them were not of this class; that some of them were unpatriotic and even criminal, and that, while securely concealed behind their British registers, they were sharing in the enormous profits derived from running our blockade, and engaging, to the detriment of the Union cause, in all the illicit commerce which the English flag covered during the four years of bloody war from which we have just emerged. I think the American Congress should be slow to allow even one man who has acted thus to bring his property back under protection of our laws. We may not be able to punish such men by criminal prosecutions but we certainly should not go out of our way to show them favors and confer benefits upon them.

"But I do not put this question on the ground of simply giving their just dues to those who took this course with their shipping, much less do I base my action on a feeling of 'spite,' as the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Garfield) has intimated. I conceive that it involves a point of future interest and of far-reaching importance, because if we treat these ship-owners who left our flag, with the same liberality that we do those who stood by it, we offer a sort of premium to our whole navigation interest to seek foreign registers the moment we have a war with any power. And should we allow the eight hundred thousand tons of shipping now under discussion to come back under our flag, you will see double or triple that amount leave us if we should unfortunately become engaged in another war. I think that consideration should have great influence on our action on this question.

"One word more, Mr. Speaker. The whole tone of the speeches we have had from both the gentlemen from Ohio (Mr. Spaulding and Mr. Garfield) was for free trade. They urge that we shall buy our ships wherever we can get them cheapest, and that all restrictions as to registry should be abolished. Well, Sir, if we are prepared to reduce this free trade theory to practice, why not have it in everything? There is no branch of American industry that is, to-day, so little protected and so much oppressed by our revenue laws as ship-building. It is taxed at all points and nearly taxed to death; and I submit to these new advocates of free trade that it would be better to begin with some interest that is essentially protected by our laws to-day. If we are going to have free trade, let us have it equally and impartially applied to all the industrial interests of the land; but for myself, I am opposed to it altogether. In theory and in practice, I am for protecting American industry in all its forms, and to this end we must encourage American manufactures and we must equally encourage American commerce."

In 1867 Blaine visited Europe and spent several months traveling for recreation and instruction, in England and on the Continent.

CAPITOL BUILDING, AT WASHINGTON.





CHAPTER XII.

Blaine's renomination for Congress.—Popularity with both parties.
His great work in the 40th Congress.—Elected Speaker of the
House of Representatives.—Mentioned for a Candidate for
President.—His Speech on the Gold Bill.—Writer for Maga-
zines.—His views of Negro Suffrage.

Blaine was renominated for a third term in Congress in 1866, almost as a matter of course, having then the love of his own party and the respect of the Democratic party. With all his unflinching opposition to the measures of the Democracy, his manner was so frank and his life so consistent and sincere, that they most honorably gave their commendation of his personal character.

After his nomination in 1866, the Rockland Democrat, an opposition paper of considerable influence, published this editorial :

"At the Convention of the Third Congressional District, in Augusta, on Friday last, Hon. James G. Blaine was renominated as the Union candidate for Congress by acclamation. This is an endorsement of Mr. Blaine's ability and course in Congress of the most flattering character. His constituents are second to none in the State for intelligence and general political information, and understand thoroughly the candidate they have placed before the people a third time. In March next Mr. Blaine will have held his seat in the House two terms, and in September will be elected to take his third term. While he has been untiring in his efforts to promote the interest in our State, Mr. Blaine has not confined himself to local affairs, but has exerted himself

in the broader field of statesmanship, and gained a national reputation. The amendment to the Constitution now adopted by Congress, which proposes to correct the basis of representation in the South, was originated by Mr. Blaine. It has been somewhat changed from its original form, but its purport and substance were taken from him, and it is now one of the most important steps in the process of reconstruction. It is not necessary to recall and review the many measures with which his name is prominently connected, for they are generally known, and his renomination is an endorsement of his acts far beyond anything we might say. As a ready, forcible debater, a clear reasoner, sound legislator, fearless advocate, and true supporter of the principles and organization of the party of Union and Right, he has made a mark in the annals of Congress of which he and those who elected him may be proud. The Union voters of the Third District have manifested good sense in renominating so competent a candidate to represent them. In these critical times the policy of changing experienced, tried and true men, for new and inexperienced ones, is to be avoided as much as possible. In favorable times that policy will do, but this is not the season. The Union men of the Third District will not fail to give Mr. Blaine a good support at the polls."

In the House of Representatives, in 1867, there was a wide diversity of opinion concerning the currency and financial measures, and it was a season when the greatest of thinkers were often misled. But when Blaine spoke upon financial themes it was after mature thought and the most careful research. It was a time when the national honor and prosperity were among dangerous breakers. The following speech upon the "Gold Bill" was made in one of the open debates which marked the important discussions of that period.

MR. BLAINE said :

Within the past few months, Mr. Chairman, some erroneous and mischievous views have been put forward in regard to the nature of the public obligation imposed by the

debt of the United States. Without stopping to notice the lesser lights of the new doctrine, and not caring to analyze the various forms of repudiation suggested from irresponsible sources throughout the country, I propose to review as briefly as may be, the position contemporaneously assumed by two able and distinguished gentlemen—the one from the West, the other from the East—the one the late candidate of the Democratic party for the Vice Presidency (Mr. Pendleton of Ohio), the other a prominent member of this House from one of the strongest Republican districts of Massachusetts (Mr. Butler).

The position of these gentlemen I understand to be simply this: *That the principal of the United States bonds, known as the Five-twenties, may be fairly and legally paid in paper currency by the Government after the expiration of five years from the date of issue.*

A brief review of the origin of the Five-twenty bonds will demonstrate, I think, that this position is in contravention of the honor and good faith of the National Government; that it is hostile to the spirit and the letter of the law; that it contemptuously ignores the common understanding between borrower and lender at the time the loan was negotiated; and that finally, even if such mode of payment were honorable and practicable, it would prove disastrous to the financial interests of the Government and the general prosperity of the country. I crave the attention and indulgence of the House while I recapitulate the essential facts in support of my assertion.

The issue of the Five-twenty bonds was originally authorized by the act of Feb. 25th, 1862, which provided for the large amount of five hundred millions of dollars. It was this series which was sold so successfully by Jay Cooke & Co., in 1863, and of which so great a proportion was subsequently purchased by foreign capitalists. It will be borne in mind that up to that time in all the loan bills passed by Congress, not one word had ever been said in regard to gold payment either of bond or coupon; and it will be equally borne in mind that gold payment, both of the principal and interest of the public debt, had been the invariable rule from the foundation of the Government. No instance to the contrary can be found in our history. In the pithy language

of Nathaniel Macon, "our Government was a hard-money Government, founded by hard-money men, and its debts were hard-money debts."

And it will be still further borne in mind that when the Bill authorizing the original issue of Five-twenties was under discussion in Congress, no man of any party either in the Senate or in the House, ever intimated that these bonds were to be paid in anything else than gold or silver. The issue of legal tender notes of contemporaneous origin, was regarded as a temporary expedient forced upon us by the cruel necessities and demands of war, and it was universally conceded that the specie basis was to be resumed long before the bonds should mature for payment. And in order that the public creditor might have the amplest assurance of the payment of both principal and interest in coin it was specially enacted that all duties on imports should be paid in coin, and the amount thus raised was distinctly pledged not only to the payment of the interest in coin, but to the formation of a Sinking Fund for the ultimate redemption of the principal in coin. This provision is so important that I quote it entire. After providing that the duties shall be paid in coin, the act devotes that coin to the following purposes:

"First. To the payment in coin of the interest on the bonds of the United States.

Second. To the purchase or payment of one per centum of the entire debt of the United States to be made within each fiscal year after the first day of July, 1862, which is to be set apart as a sinking fund, and the interest of which shall be in like manner applied to the purchase or payment of the public debt, as the Secretary of the Treasury shall, from time to time, direct.

Third. The residue thereof shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States."

Considerable carping and criticism have been expended on the second clause of this provision, mainly by those who seem desirous of wresting and distorting its plain and obvious meaning. Brushing aside all fine-spun construction and cunning fallacy, it is quite manifest that the Sinking Fund herein authorized, was primarily to be formed from gold; and that it was only to be invested and re-invested in

securities whose interest was equally pledged and guaranteed in gold ; that this process was not to be confined to any specific number of years, but it was limited only by the amount and the duration of the debt which was ultimately to be redeemed by the Sinking Fund thus constituted. The Sinking Fund was thus to receive an annual increment *in gold*, amounting to the one-hundredth part of the entire debt of the Government ; and this increment was to be invested only in securities which would yield *gold* interest for the further increment of the Fund. It would be difficult to conceive how the language of an enactment could more distinctly recognize and provide for the ultimate coin payment of the entire Bonded debt of the nation. And instead of the Government having the right at this late day to change its gold obligation into one of paper, it seems to me that the public creditors could with far more consistency allege that the Government had not fully kept its faith with them in failing, as it has, to provide the Sinking Fund which was thus guaranteed at the outset as one of the special securities of the loan.

But we do not rest merely on the after construction of a statute to prove that the principal of the Five-twenties is payable in coin. The declarations in Congress at the time the measure was under consideration, were numerous, direct and specific. Indeed, no other possible mode of payment was ever hinted at, and Mr. Stevens, as Chairman of the Ways and Means, was emphatic and repeated in his assertions to the effect that the bonds were *redeemable in gold*. He stated this fact no less than three times in his speech of February 6, 1862—giving it all the prominence and emphasis that iteration and reiteration could impart. He spoke of the “redemption in gold in twenty years,” as one of the special inducements for capitalists to take the loan, and he gave in every form that language could assume, the sanction of his influential position and still more influential name to the maintenance of the gold standard in the payment of the bonds.

It may astonish even the gentleman from Pennsylvania himself, to be reminded that within less than three years from the date of these declarations, he asserted on this floor —referring to the Five-twenty bonds—that “*it is just as*

clear as anything is clear that the interest is payable in gold, but the principal in lawful money." He made this startling statement in answer to a question addressed to him by my honorable friend from Ohio (Mr. Spaulding), and the gentleman from Massachusetts has quoted it in his argument on this question as though it had been made when the five-twenty bill was originally introduced, and was to be taken as the authorized opinion of the Ways and Means Committee at that time. I have shown that at the outset the gentleman from Pennsylvania was a firm advocate of gold payment and a considerable period had elapsed before he experienced his marvelous change on this question. But it is due to the gentleman from Pennsylvania to say that late as he was in his declaration, he was in advance of other gentlemen who have since figured so prominently as advocates of the doctrine. And should this scheme of repudiation ever succeed, it is but just to give the gentleman from Pennsylvania the honor of first proposing it. He announced it on this floor while yet the gentleman from Massachusetts was doing honorable service on the tented field, and while Mr. Pendleton was still adhering to those hard-money theories of which he was a conspicuous and eloquent defender during his service in this House.

But I digress. I was stating that while the original Five-twenty bill was pending, the declaration that the bonds were redeemable in gold was constantly repeated. It was the ground assumed by every member of the Committee of Ways and Means, and it was likewise the ground taken by the Finance Committee of the Senate—Mr. Fessenden and Mr. Sherman being on record in many ways to that effect. And while so many gentlemen in both branches of Congress were repeating that these bonds were redeemable in gold, it is a very significant circumstance, as already intimated, that no one ventured the opposite opinion. The universality of the understanding at that time is that which renders a different construction now so reprehensible. Mr. Pendleton was in his seat during the whole discussion of the measure, and he was an active and frequent participant therein. Then was his time to have enunciated his scheme of green-back payment if he ever intended it in good faith. As a gentleman of candor, however, I am sure that he will con-

fess that he never dreamed of such an idea till long after the bonds were purchased by the people, and possibly not until some prospect of party advantage lured him to the adoption of a theory which is equally at war with the letter of the law and sound principles of finance.

After the bill became a law, Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, proceeded to place the loan formally on the market, and following the uniform previous practice of the government, and especially adopting the language used by Mr. Stevens, and other gentlemen in both branches of Congress, he officially proclaimed through the loan agents of the government that the Five-twenty bonds were "*a six per cent. loan, the interest and principal payable in coin.*" And it was on this basis, with this understanding, and with this public proclamation, that the people were asked to subscribe to the loan. They had the assurance of an unbroken practice on the part of the government, rendered still more significant by the provision for a Sinking Fund in coin; they had the general assurance of both branches of Congress, especially expressed through the appropriate channels of the Chairman of Finance in the Senate, and the Chairman of the Ways and Means in the House; and further and finally enforced by a distinct declaration to that effect by the public advertisement proposing the loan to the people, issued by the authority and under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. If anything could constitute an honorable contract between borrower and lender—between government and people—then was it a contract that the Five-twenty bonds should be redeemed in coin.

I have been thus minute, and possibly tedious, in regard to the facts attending the issue of the first series of Five-twenty's, because in effect that established the rule for all subsequent issues. *Ex uno discere omnes.* The principle laid down so clearly in the proposal for the first loan was not departed from afterwards. It is quite true that the Chairman of Ways and Means (Mr. Stevens), as I have already said, changed his ground on the question, but he failed to influence Congress, notwithstanding his parade of terrible figures showing the utter impossibility of ever paying gold interest, to say nothing of gold principal. The gentleman can recall his statistics with amusement if not with advan-

tage from that grave of unfulfilled prophecies to which he in common with the rest of us have sent so many baseless predictions.

The next Loan bill passed by Congress was that of March 3, 1863, authorizing the borrowing of nine hundred millions. This is commonly known as the Ten-forty act, and it contains the special provision that both principal and interest shall be paid in coin. But this provision was never inserted by way of discrimination against the Five-twenties —implying that they were to be paid in paper currency. The origin of the provision palpably discredits any such inference. It was moved as an amendment by Mr. Thomas of Massachusetts, and it was moved to meet and repel the first covert insinuation that any bond of the United States was redeemable in anything else than coin. The Chairman of the Ways and Means, in apparent forgetfulness of his declaration the preceding year, had for the first time intimated that the principal of the United States bonds was payable in paper money, and the amendment of Mr. Thomas, as the discussion reported in the Globe clearly discloses, was intended as a sharp protest against the heresy of the gentleman from Pennsylvania; and as such it was adopted by the House by a majority so overwhelming that its opponents did not call for a division. During the discussion, Mr. Horton of Ohio, a distinguished member of the Ways and Means, a gentleman of very high character in every respect, said :

“I wish to state here that the Committee of Ways and Means, in framing this bill, never dreamed that these twenty-year bonds were to be payable in anything other than gold, until the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Stevens) told it yesterday upon the floor of the House.

* * * I say to the gentleman and to this House, that I never heard an expression by any member of the Committee of Ways and Means of the possibility that these bonds were to be payable in anything other than coin. * * The form here proposed is the form always used by Government in the issue of these bonds, and they have always been paid in coin up to this day.”

In this connection I desire the special attention of the House to one fact of conclusive import—and it is this: At

the time this Ten-forty Loan bill was passed, March 3, 1863, only twenty-five millions of the Five-twenty loan, authorized the year before, had been disposed of. It was in the succeeding summer and autumn of 1863, especially after the triumph of the Union arms at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, that those marvelous sales of five hundred millions were effected through the government agency of Jay Cooke & Co. And yet the gentleman from Massachusetts would have us believe that the people subscribed for a loan of five hundred millions, that was payable in five years in paper currency, when another loan for a larger amount, to run forty years, absolutely payable in gold, was already authorized and about to be put on the market. Such a conclusion cannot be reconciled even with the common sanity—to say nothing of the proverbial shrewdness, of those who invested their money in the Five-twenty loan. Why, Sir, every one sees, every one knows, that not one dollar of the Five-twenty loan could have been disposed of on the understanding that the bonds were redeemable in currency—when another loan for a longer and more favorable period, possibly at the same rate of interest for the bill so allowed—and absolutely redeemable in gold—was already authorized by Congress, and immediately to be offered to the public.

The next Loan bill in the order of time was the Act of March 3, 1864, which was merely supplementary to the Ten-forty bill, whose history I have just reviewed. It covered the amount of two hundred millions, and, like the bill to which it formed a supplement, it provided for both interest and principal to be paid in coin. Under this bill, more than \$175,000,000 were negotiated, partly in Ten-forties, and partly in Five-twenties—by far the greater part in the former. But as some Five-twenties were negotiated under it, the gentleman from Massachusetts, even on the line of logic which he has sought to travel, will be compelled to acknowledge that they were payable in coin, and hence, according to his theory, some of the Five-twenties are redeemable in coin, and some in paper—a distinction which has never yet been proclaimed, and the equity of which would hardly be apparent to the holders of the same description of bonds, precisely identical in phrase, and differing only in the subordinate and immaterial circumstances of date.

The last Loan bill to which I need specially refer, is that of June 30, 1864, under the provisions of which the Five-twenties bearing that date were issued. The Seven-thirties, authorized by the same act, as well as by the subsequent Acts of January 28, and March 3, 1865, were convertible into Five-twenties of the same tenor and description with those whose issue was directly authorized; so that in reviewing the history of the Loan bill of June 30, 1864, I shall, in effect, close the narrative of Congressional proceedings in regard to Five-twenty bonds. And the history of that bill shall be brief. It was discussed in its various provisions very elaborately in both branches of Congress. As reported from the Ways and Means Committee, it was worded like all previous bonds, promising to pay so many dollars to the holder, without specifying that they were to be anything else than gold dollars, in which United States bonds had always been paid. Towards the close of the discussion, Mr. Brooks of New York, then as now a member of this House, moved to insert an amendment providing especially that the bonds should be "*payable in coin.*" Mr. Brooks was answered by Mr. Hooper of Massachusetts, on behalf of the Ways and Means Committee, as follows:

"The bill of last year, the \$900,000,000 bill, contained these words, but it was not deemed necessary or considered expedient to insert them in this bill. I will send to the desk and ask to have read as a part of my reply to the gentleman from New York, a letter from the Secretary, giving his views on this point."

The Clerk read as follows :

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, May 18, 1884.

"SIR: Your letter of the 13th inst., making inquiries in regard to the kind of currency with which the Five-twenty years six per cent. bonds, and the three years Seven-thirty per cent. notes are to be redeemed, has been received.

"It has been the constant usage of the Department to redeem all coupon and registered bonds, forming part of the funded or permanent debt of the United States, in coin, and this usage has not been deviated from during my administration of its affairs.

"All the Treasury notes and other obligations, forming part of the temporary loan, are payable, and will be redeemed in lawful money, that is, in United States notes, until after the resumption of specie payment, when they also will doubtless be redeemed in coin or equivalent notes.

"The Five-twenty sixes, payable twenty years from date, though redeemable after five years, are considered as belonging to the funded or permanent debt, and so also are the twenty years sixes into which the three years Seven-thirty notes are convertible. These bonds, therefore, according to the usage of the Government, are payable in coin.

"The three years Seven-thirty Treasury notes are part of the temporary loan, and will be paid in United States notes, unless holders prefer conversion to payment.

"Very respectfully,
(Signed) S. P. CHASE, Secretary.

Mr. Brooks, apparently satisfied with this statement, withdrew his amendment, regarding the point as conclusively settled, not only by the uniform practice of the Government, but by the special declaration of the Secretary of the Treasury, who immediately proceeded afterwards, on the basis of that letter, to put the bonds on the market. Mr. Hooper stated the case well when he said it was "not deemed necessary or considered expedient" to insert coin payment in this bill—"nor necessary," for the practice of the Government, and the assurances of the Treasury Department, in its advertisements in proposing for loans, conclusively settled the point—and not "considered expedient," for to specially insert gold payment in all the Loan bills except that of February 25, 1862, under which five hundred millions of Five-twenties had been sold, might, in the end, by the *exclusio unius* give some shadow of ground for the mischievous inference which is now sought to be drawn without any ground whatever.

We thus find that the voice of Congress has been uniform and consistent in support of the principle of paying the bonded debt in gold. No vote in Congress, even implying the opposite theory, has ever been given; even the weighty influence, and conceded ability, of the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania failing to carry with him any sup-

port whatever when he made his surprising and unprecedented change on this question. But the public creditor did not rely solely on the declarations of the leading men in Congress in regard to gold payment, nor did they rest wholly on the past practice and the good faith of the Government. They had, in addition to both these strong grounds of confidence and assurance, the more direct and explicit guarantee of the Treasury Department, the authorized agent of the Government, speaking *ex cathedra*, with the knowledge and assent of Congress. I have already quoted Secretary Chase's significant declarations in his public proposals for loans, and I have now to quote one of his equally significant acts. At the close of 1862, the Twenty-year loan of 1842, amounting to nearly three millions of dollars, fell due. Nothing was said in that loan about coin payment, and thus a grand opportunity was afforded to test the theory of paper payment. Circumstances all conspired to favor such a policy if it could be honorably adopted. Gold was at a high premium, and the Government was passing through the darkest and most doubtful hours of the whole struggle. Could there have been even a decent pretext to pay the debt in paper currency, the temptation was surely great enough to resort to it, if not to fully justify it. But in the face of all the adverse circumstances ; with gold very high, and daily rising ; with expenses enormous and daily increasing ; with resources already embarrassed, and daily growing more so, and with a military situation rendered wellnigh desperate, by months of almost unbroken disaster, Secretary Chase decided that the faith of the Government demanded that its funded debt, falling due no matter when, and owned by no matter whom, must be paid in coin. *And it was paid in coin*; and no voice, but the voice of approval, was raised in either branch of Congress. The course of Secretary Chase was not only honorable to himself and the country, but it was in the highest degree wise, merely from the standpoint of worldly wisdom, for it created such a profound confidence in the good faith of our Government, that it aided us incalculably in the negotiation of all our great loans for the war. When the Government paid its debt to the uttermost farthing at such a time, capitalists at once argued that there never could come a crisis when any invasion or denial of public

obligation would be resorted to. It has been reserved for the gentleman from Massachusetts, and the gentleman from Ohio, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania, jointly and severally, to propose that our Government should adopt a policy in the calm sunshine and prosperity of peace, which it scorned to resort to in the terrible storms and dark adversities of war.

The course of Secretary Chase in guaranteeing gold payment on all bonds of the United States, was followed, endorsed and repeated by his successors, Secretary Fessenden, and Secretary McCulloch. The words of Mr. Fessenden are entitled to great weight in the premises, for he had been Chairman of Finance during the passage of all the Loan bills, had elaborately discussed them in turn, and had as largely as any single member of either branch of Congress shaped their provisions. His views on the question at issue may be briefly and conclusively presented by the following extract from his Report as Secretary of the Treasury, made to Congress in December, 1864 :

“Though forced to resort to the issue of paper for the time, the idea of a specie basis was not lost sight of, as the payment of interest on long loans in coin was amply secured. And though in several of the acts authorizing the issue of bonds at long periods, payment of the principal at maturity in coin is not specifically provided, the omission it is believed was accidental, *as there could have been no intention to make a distinction between the different classes of securities in this regard.*”

It will be noted that this declaration of Mr. Fessenden, made in his official report, was at the very time that the Five-twenties of 1864 were being negotiated, and preceded the large sale of Seven-thirties, which were convertible into Five-twenties. So that in effect it was an additional guarantee of gold payment on the part of the Government, operating at once as the condition and the inducement of the loan.

It is well known that Secretary McCulloch entertains precisely the same opinions that were so freely expressed by Messrs. Chase and Fessenden, and he placed himself on

record very pointedly on the question by his letter to L. P. Morton & Co., of New York, wherein he says:

“Treasury Department, November 15th, 1866.

“Gentlemen: Your favor of the 13th inst., is received. I regard, as did also my predecessors, all bonds of the United States as payable in coin. The bonds which have matured since the suspension of specie payments, have been so paid, and I have no doubt that the same will be true with all others. This being, as I understand it to be, the established policy of the Government, the Five-twenty bonds of 1862 will either be called in at the expiration of five years from their date, and paid in coin, or be permitted to run until the Government is prepared to pay them in coin.

‘I am very truly yours,

“(Signed) H. McCULLOCH, Secretary.”

In view of the uniform declarations of the Treasury Department, made through official reports, through public proposals for loans, and through personal letters of assurance, all guaranteeing coin payment of the Five-twenty bonds, I submit that the Government is bound thereto even if there were no other obligation expressed or implied. These official and unofficial promulgations from the Treasury Department, were made with the full knowledge of Congress, and without the slightest expression of dissent on the part of Congress. It is too late for Congress to declare now that the Government is not bound by the stipulations which the Treasury Department proclaimed to all lenders of money—proclaimed with the full knowledge and the full assent of Congress. Had Congress not believed or intended that the Five-twenty bonds were to be paid in coin, the Secretary should not have been allowed with its evident assent to so advertise—and for Congress after this permission and warrant, so significantly given, to step forward at this late day, and declare itself not bound by the conditions published by the Secretary, is simply to place the United States Government in the position of a man playing a “confidence game” of the meanest description, in which the Treasury Department and Congress are the confederate knaves and the whole mass of bondholders the unfortunate victims.

With these statements I conclude what I have to present

to the House in regard to the public obligation to pay the principal of the Five-twenty bonds in coin. That obligation is established, I may repeat, in very brief summary, by the uniform and unbroken practice of the Government of the United States to redeem all its funded debt in coin; it is established by the fact that in the first of the Five-twenty Loan bills, Congress directed the formation of a Sinking Fund in coin for the purchase and payment of the bonded debt of the United States; it is established by the general understanding in Congress and in the country when the Five-twenty Loan bills were passed; and it is conclusively and irreversibly established by the pledge of the Secretary of the Treasury when the loan was negotiated—a pledge made with the knowledge and rendered binding by the assent of Congress.

But, now, Mr. Speaker, suppose for the sake of argument, we admit that the Government may fairly and legally pay the Five-twenty bonds in paper currency, what then? I ask the gentleman from Massachusetts to tell us, what then? It is easy, I know, to issue as many greenbacks as will pay the maturing bonds, regardless of the effect upon the inflation of prices, and the general derangement of business. Five hundred millions of the Five-twenties are now payable, and according to the easy mode suggested, all we have to do is to set the printing-presses in motion, and "so long as rags and lampblack hold out" we need have no embarrassment about paying our National Debt. But the ugly question recurs, what are you going to do with the greenbacks thus put afloat? Five hundred millions this year, and eleven hundred millions more on this theory of payment by the year 1872; so that within the period of four or five years we would only have added to our paper money the trifling inflation of sixteen hundred millions of dollars. We should all have splendid times doubtless! Wheat, under the new dispensation, ought to bring twenty dollars a bushel, and boots would not be worth more than two hundred dollars a pair, and the farmers of our country would be as well off as Santa Anna's rabble of Mexican soldiers, who were allowed ten dollars a day for their services and charged eleven for their rations and clothing. The sixteen hundred millions of greenbacks added to the amount already issued, would give us some

twenty-three hundred millions of paper money, and I suppose the theory of the new doctrine would leave this mass permanently in circulation, for it would hardly be consistent to advocate the redemption of the greenbacks in gold after having repudiated and foresworn our obligation on the bonds.

But if it be intended to redeem the legal tenders in gold, what will have been the net gain to the Government in the whole transaction? If any gentleman will tell me, I shall be glad to learn how it will be easier to pay sixteen hundred millions in gold in the redemption of greenbacks, than to pay the same amount in the redemption of Five-twenty bonds? The policy advocated, it seems to me, has only two alternatives—the one to ruinously inflate the currency and leave it so, reckless of results; the other to ruinously inflate the currency at the outset, only to render redemption in gold far more burdensome in the end.

I know it may be claimed, that the means necessary to redeem the Five-twenties in greenbacks may be realized by a new issue of currency bonds to be placed on the market. Of results in the future every gentleman has the right to his own opinion, and all may alike indulge in speculation. But it does seem to me that the Government would be placed in an awkward attitude when it should enter the market to negotiate a loan, the avails of which were to be devoted to breaking faith with those who already held its most sacred obligations! What possible security would the new class of creditors have, that when their debts were matured, some new form of evasion would be resorted to by which they in turn would be deprived of their just and honest dues?

Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus would supply the ready form of protest against trusting a Government with a new loan when it had just ignored its plain obligation on an old one.

Payment of the Five-twenty bonds in paper currency involves therefore a limitless issue of greenbacks, with attendant evils of gigantic magnitude and far-reaching consequence. And the worst evil of the whole is the delusion which calls this a payment at all. It is no payment in any proper sense, for it neither gives the creditor what he is entitled to, nor does it release the debtor from subsequent responsibility. You may get rid of the Five-twenty by

issuing the greenback, but how will you get rid of the greenback except by paying gold? The only escape from ultimate payment of gold is to declare that as a nation we permanently and finally renounce all idea of ever attaining a specie standard—that we launch ourselves on an ocean of paper money without shore or sounding, with no rudder to guide us and no compass to steer by. And this is precisely what is involved if we adopt this mischievous suggestion of "a new way to pay old debts." Our fate in attempting such a course may be easily read in the history of similar follies both in Europe and in our own country. Prostration of credit, financial disaster, widespread distress among all classes of the community, would form the closing scenes in our career of gratuitous folly and national dishonor. And from such an abyss of sorrow and humiliation, it would be a painful and toilsome effort to regain as sound a position in our finances as we are asked voluntarily to abandon to-day.

The remedy for our financial troubles, Mr. Speaker, will not be found in a superabundance of depreciated paper currency. It lies in the opposite direction—and the sooner the nation finds itself on a specie basis, the sooner will the public treasury be freed from embarrassment, and private business relieved from discouragement. Instead therefore of entering upon a reckless and boundless issue of legal tenders, with their consequent depression if not destruction of value, let us set resolutely to work and make those already in circulation equal to so many gold dollars. When that result shall be accomplished, we can proceed to pay our Five-twenties either in coin or paper, for the one would be equivalent to the other. But to proceed deliberately on a scheme of depreciating our legal tenders and then forcing the holders of Government bonds to accept them in payment, would resemble in point of honor, the policy of a merchant who, with abundant resources and prosperous business, should devise a plan for throwing discredit on his own notes with the view of having them bought up at a discount, ruinous to the holders and immensely profitable to his own knavish pocket. This comparison may faintly illustrate the wrongfulness of the policy, but not its consummate folly—for in the case of the Government, unlike the

merchant, the stern necessity would recur of making good in the end, by the payment of hard coin, all the discount that might be gained by the temporary substitution of paper.

Discarding all such schemes as at once unworthy and unprofitable, let us direct our policy steadily, but not rashly, towards the resumption of specie payment. And when we have attained that end—easily attainable at no distant day if the proper policy be pursued—we can all unite on some honorable plan for the redemption of the Five-twenty bonds, and the issuing instead thereof, a new series of bonds which can be more favorably placed at a lower rate of interest. When we shall have reached the specie basis, the value of United States securities will be so high in the money market of the world, that we can command our own terms. We can then call in our Five-twenties according to the very letter and spirit of the bond, and adjust a new loan that will be eagerly sought for by capitalists, and will be free from those elements of discontent that in some measure surround the existing Funded debt of the country.

As to the particular measures of legislation requisite to hasten the resumption of specie payment, gentlemen equally entitled to respect may widely differ; but there is one line of policy conducive thereto on which we all ought to agree; and that is on a serious reduction of the Government expenses and a consequent lightening of the burdens of taxation. The interest-bearing debt of the United States, when permanently funded, will not exceed twenty-one hundred millions of dollars, imposing an annual interest of about one hundred and twenty-five millions. Our other expenses, including War, Navy, the Pension list, and the Civil list, ought not to exceed one hundred millions; so that if we raise two hundred and fifty millions from Customs and Internal Revenue combined, we should have twenty-five millions annual surplus to apply to the reduction of the Public debt. But to attain this end we must mend our ways, and practice an economy far more consistent and severe than any we have attempted in the past. Our Military peace establishment must be reduced one-half at least, and our Naval appropriations correspondingly curtailed; and innumerable leaks and gaps and loose ends, that have so long attended our Government expenditure, must be taken up and stopped. If such

a policy be pursued by Congress, neither the principal of the debt, nor the interest of the debt, nor the annual expenses of Government, will be burdensome to the people. We can raise two hundred and fifty millions of revenue on the gold basis, and at the same time have a vast reduction in our taxes. And we can do this without repudiation in any form, either open or covert, avowed or indirect, but with every obligation of the Government fulfilled and discharged in its exact letter and in its generous spirit.

And this, Mr. Speaker, we shall do. Our National honor demands it ; our National interest equally demands it. We have vindicated our claim to the highest heroism on a hundred bloody battle-fields, and have stopped at no sacrifice of life needful to the maintenance of our National integrity. I am sure that in the peace which our arms have conquered, we shall not dishonor ourselves by withholding from any public creditor a dollar that we promised to pay him, nor seek by cunning construction and clever afterthought, to evade or escape the full responsibility of our National indebtedness. It will doubtless cost us a vast sum to pay that indebtedness—but it would cost us incalculably more not to pay it.

The work which Blaine performed in the Fortieth Congress, 1867–8, was most astonishing. Bills, resolutions, hearings, reports and speeches kept him in a state of constant activity. He was directly connected by committee-work, or as the originator of measures concerning the army, navy, post-offices, Congressional library, Indian reservations, relief of individuals, common carriers between the States, Treasury Department, cotton tax, issue of U. S. bonds, Funding bill, Mexican treaties, foreign commerce, election cases, river and harbor improvement, Funeral of Ex-President Buchanan, Custom-house frauds, House Rules, military laws, the re-arrangement of the rooms of the Capitol, and even matters concerning the messengers, pages and restaurant-keeper.

He was not only the acknowledged leader of the Repub-

lican party in the House, but almost equally so of the entire body in matters of business. Working diligently with him, and daily uniting with him in important measures, was a man much like Blaine in earnestness, patriotism and industry—James A. Garfield of Ohio.

March 4th, 1869, on the same day with the second inauguration of General Grant, the President of the United States, Blaine was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was nominated by the Republican caucus without material opposition, and was elected by a vote of one hundred and thirty-five against fifty-seven votes for Hon. Michael C. Kerr of Indiana.

His speech in accepting the office was short, modest and clear. Probably no man since the organization of the Republic, with perhaps the exception of Hon. Nathaniel P. Banks, has been equally successful as Speaker of the House. Blaine was cool, courteous, decided and most strictly impartial. None of his political enemies ever accused him of intentional unfairness when the heat of debate was passed.

All parties joined in doing him honor at the close of his term. For six years he held that important position, to the admiration of the whole country. So popular did he become as a Speaker, that he was considered by the people to be the sure candidate for the Presidency in 1876, long before politicians or party leaders had defined their plans.

During this time of arduous labor he somehow found time to prepare scores of political campaign speeches, and write important addresses and magazine articles. In the North American Review, 1870, appeared an interesting article from his pen on the subject, "Ought the Negro to be Disfranchised?" In the same number of the magazine appeared articles on the same topic by L. Q. C. Lamar, Wade Hampton, James A. Garfield, Alexander H. Stephens, Wendell Phillips, Montgomery Blair, and Thomas A. Hendricks.

Blaine had the opening and closing of the discussion. The article received a world-wide attention, and it is here given in full.

MR. BLAINE wrote: These questions have lately been asked by many who have been distinguished as the special champions of the negro's rights; by many who have devoted their lives to redressing the negro's wrongs. The questions owe their origin not to any cooling of philanthropic interest, not to any novel or radical views about universal suffrage, but to the fact that, in the judgment of many of those hitherto accounted wisest, negro suffrage has failed to attain the ends hoped for when the franchise was conferred; failed as a means of more completely securing the negro's civil rights; failed to bring him the consideration which generally attaches to power; failed, indeed, to achieve anything except to increase the political weight and influence of those against whom, and in spite of whom, his enfranchisement was secured.

Those who have reached this conclusion, and those who are tending toward it, argue that the important franchise was prematurely bestowed on the negro; that its possession necessarily places him in inharmonious relations with the white race; that the excitement incident to its free enjoyment hinders him from progress in the rudimentary and essential branches of education; that his advance in material wealth is thus delayed and obstructed; and that obstacles, which would not otherwise exist, are continually accumulating in his path—rendering his progress impossible and his oppression inevitable. In other words, that suffrage in the hands of the negro is a challenge to the white race for a contest in which he is sure to be overmatched; and that the withdrawal of the franchise would remove all conflict, restore kindly relations between the races, place the whites on their proper and honorable responsibility, and assure to each race the largest prosperity attainable under a Government where both are compelled to live.

The class of men whose views are thus hastily summarized do not contemplate the withdrawal of the suffrage from the negro without a corresponding reduction in the representation in Congress of the States where the negro is a large factor in the apportionment. And yet it is quite prob-

able that they have not given thought to the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of compassing that end. Under the Constitution, as it is now construed, the diminution of representative strength could only result from the States passing such laws as would disfranchise the negro by some educational or property test, as it is forbidden by the fifteenth amendment to disfranchise him on account of his race. But no Southern State will do this, and for two reasons: first, they will in no event consent to a reduction of representative strength; and, second, they could not make any disfranchisement of the negro that would not at the same time disfranchise an immense number of whites.

Quite another class—mostly resident in the South, but with numerous sympathizers in the North—would be glad to have the negro disfranchised on totally different grounds. Born and reared with the belief that the negro is inferior to the white man in everything, it is hard for the class who were masters at the South to endure any phase or form of equality on the part of the negro. Instinct governs reason, and with the mass of Southern people the aversion to equality is instinctive and ineradicable. The general conclusion with this class would be to deprive the negro of voting if it could be done without impairing the representation of their States, but not to make any move in that direction so long as diminished power in Congress is the constitutional and logical result of a denial or abridgment of suffrage. In the mean while, seeing no mode of legally or equitably depriving the negro of his suffrage except with unwelcome penalty to themselves, the Southern States as a whole—differing in degree but the same in effect—have striven to achieve by indirect and unlawful means what they cannot achieve directly and lawfully. They have so far as possible made negro suffrage of none effect. They have done this against law and against justice.

Having stated the position of both classes on this question, I venture now to give my own views in a series of statements in which I shall endeavor to embody both argument and conclusion:

First. The two classes I have named, contemplating the possible or desirable disfranchisement of the negro from entirely different standpoints, and with entirely different

aims, are both and equally in the wrong. The first is radically in error in supposing that a disfranchisement of the negro would put him in the way of any development or progress that would in time fit him for the suffrage. He would instead grow more and more unfit for it every day from the time the first backward step should be taken, and he would relapse, if not into actual chattel slavery, yet into such a dependent and defenseless condition as would result in only another form of servitude. For the ballot to-day, imperfectly enjoyed as it is by the negro, its freedom unjustly and illegally curtailed, its independence ruthlessly marred, its purity defiled, is withal and after all the strong shield the race has against a form of servitude which would have all the cruelty and none of the alleviations of the old slave system, whose destruction carried with it the shedding of so much innocent blood.

The second class is wrong in anticipating even the remote possibility of securing the legal disfranchisement of the negro without a reduction of representation. Both sides have fenced for position on this question. But for the clause regulating representation in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution we should to-day have the South wholly under the control, and legally under the control, of those who rebelled against the Union and sought to erect the Confederate Government—enjoying full representation by reason of the negroes being counted in the apportionment without a pretense of suffrage being conceded to the race. The Fourteenth Amendment was designed to prevent this, and, if it does not succeed in preventing it, it is because of evasion and violation of its express provisions and of its clear intent. Those who erected the Confederate Government may be in exclusive possession of power throughout the South, but they are not so fairly and legally; and they will not be permitted to continue in the enjoyment of political power unjustly seized—and seized in derogation and in defiance of the rights not merely of the negro but of the whites in all other sections of the country. Injustice cannot stand before exposure and argument and the force of public opinion; and no more severe weapons of defense will be required against the wrong which now afflicts the South and is a scandal to the whole country.

Second. But, while discussing the question of the disfranchisement of the negro, and settling its justice or expediency according to our discretion, it may be worth while to look at its impracticability, or, to state it still more strongly, its impossibility. Logicians attach weight to arguments drawn *ab inconvenienti*. Arguments must be still more cogent, and conclusions still more decisive when drawn *ab impossibili*. The negro is secure against disfranchisement by two constitutional amendments, and he cannot be remanded to the non-voting class until both these amendments are annulled. And these amendments cannot be annulled until two-thirds of the Senate and two-thirds of the House of Representatives of the United States shall propose, and a majority in the Legislatures or conventions of twenty-nine States shall by affirmative vote approve, the annulment. In other words, the negro cannot be disfranchised so long as one vote more than one-third in the United States Senate, or one vote more than one-third in the House of Representatives, shall be recorded against it; and if these securities and safeguards should give way, then the disfranchisement could not be effected so long as a majority in one branch in the Legislatures of only ten States should refuse to assent to it, and refuse to assent to a convention to which it might be referred. No human right on this continent is more completely guaranteed than the right against disfranchisement on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, as embodied in the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Third. In enforcement and elucidation of my second point, it is of interest to observe the rapid advance and development of popular sentiment in regard to the rights of the negro as expressed in the last three amendments to the Constitution of the United States. In 1865 Congress submitted the Thirteenth Amendment, which merely gave the negro freedom, without suffrage, civil rights, or citizenship. In 1866 the Fourteenth Amendment was submitted, declaring the negro to be a citizen, but not forbidding the States to withhold suffrage from him—yet inducing them to grant it by the provision that representation in Congress should be reduced in proportion to the exclusion of male citizens twenty-one years of age from the right to vote, except for rebellion

or other crime. In 1869 the decisive step was taken of declaring that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." A most important provision in this amendment is the inhibition upon the "United States" as well as upon "any State"; for it would not be among the impossible results of a great political revolution, resting on prejudice and grasping for power, that, in the absence of this express negation, the United States might assume or usurp the right to deprive the negro of suffrage, and then the States would not be subjected to forfeiture of representation provided in the Fourteenth Amendment as the result of the denial or abridgment of suffrage by State authority. In this stately progression of organic enactments the will of a great people is embodied, and its reversal would be one of those revolutions which would convulse social order and endanger the authority of law. There will be no step backward, but under the provision which specifically confers on Congress the power to enforce each amendment by "appropriate legislation" there will be applied, from time to time, fitfully perhaps and yet certainly, the restraining and correcting edicts of national authority.

Fourth. As I have already hinted, there will be no attempt made in the Southern States to disfranchise the negro by any of those methods which would still be within the power of the State. There is no Southern State that would dare venture on an educational qualification, because by the last census there were more than one million white persons over fifteen years of age, in the States lately slave-holding, who could not read a word, and a still larger number who could not write their names. There was, of course, a still greater number of negroes of the same ages who could not read nor write; but in the nine years that have intervened since the census was taken, there has been a much greater advance in the education of the negroes than in the education of the poor whites of the South; and to-day on an educational qualification it is quite probable that, while the proportion would be in favor of the whites, the absolute exclusion of the whites in some of the States would be nearly as great as that of the negroes. Nor would a property test

operate with any greater advantage to the whites. The slave States always had a large class of very poor and entirely uneducated whites, and any qualification of property that would seriously diminish the negro vote would also cut off a very large number of whites from the suffrage.

Thus far I have directed my argument to the first question propounded, "Ought the negro to be disfranchised?" The second interrogatory, "Ought he to have been enfranchised?" is not practical but speculative; and yet, unless it can be answered with confidence in the affirmative, the moral tenure of his suffrage is weakened, and, as a consequence, his legal right to enjoy it is impaired. For myself I answer the second question in the affirmative, with as little hesitation as I answered the first in the negative. And, if the question were again submitted to the judgment of Congress, I would vote for suffrage in the light of experience with more confidence than I voted for it in the light of an experiment. Had the franchise not been bestowed upon the negro as his shield and weapon of defense, the demand upon the General Government to interfere for his protection would have been constant and irritating and embarrassing. Great complaint has been made for years past of the Government's interference, simply to secure to the colored citizen his plainest constitutional right. But this intervention has been trifling compared to that which would have been required if we had not given suffrage to the negro. In the Reconstruction experiment under President Johnson's plan, before the negro was enfranchised, it was clearly foreshadowed that he was to be dealt with as one having no rights except such as the whites should choose to grant. The negro was to work according to labor laws; freedom of movement and transit was to be denied him by the operation of vagrant laws; liberty to sell his time and his skill at their market value was to be restrained by apprentice laws; and the slavery that was abolished by the Constitution of a nation was to be revived by the enactment of a State. To counteract these and all like efforts at re-enslavement, the national authority would have been constantly invoked; interference in the most positive and peremptory manner would have been demanded, and angry conflict and possibly resistance to law would have resulted. The one sure mode

to remand the States that rebelled against the Union to their autonomy was to give suffrage to the negro ; and that autonomy will be complete, absolute and unquestioned whenever the rights that are guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic shall be enjoyed in every State—as the administration of justice was assured in Magna Charta—“promptly and without delay ; freely and without sale ; completely and without denial.”

In conclusion, MR. BLAINE said :

At the instance of the Editor of the North American Review, and not by request or desire of mine, the brief article which I wrote in regard to negro suffrage was submitted to the gentlemen who have replied to it, and in turn their articles have been submitted to me. I have now the privilege of rejoinder, and the whole series of papers thus assumes the phase of a connected discussion.

With the exception of Mr. Wendell Phillips and General Garfield, the replies are from gentlemen identified with the Democratic party, and distinguished and influential in its councils. *General Garfield is a Republican, and has taken prominent and honorable parts in all the legislation respecting negro suffrage. His views are so entirely in harmony with my own that nothing is left me but to commend his admirable statement of the case.* Mr. Phillips is neither a Republican nor a Democrat, but reserves to himself the right—a right most freely exercised—to criticise and condemn either party with unsparing severity, generally bestowing his most caustic denunciation upon the party to which he most inclines. It is by this sign that we feel occasionally comforted with the reflection that Mr. Phillips still has sympathies with the Republican party, and still indulges aspirations for its ultimate success.

The arraignment of the Republicans at this late day by Mr. Phillips, because they did not reduce the Confederate States to Territories and govern them by direct exercise of Federal power, is causeless and unjust ; and it cannot certainly influence the judgment of any man whose memory goes back to 1866-'67. For I assume that if anything, not capable of demonstration, is yet an absolute certainty, it is that such an attempt by the Republican party would have led to its utter overthrow at the initial point of its recon-

struction policy. The overthrow of the Republican party at that time would have restored the Confederate States to full power in the Union without the imposition of a single condition, without the exactation of a single guarantee. All the inestimable provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment would have been lost ; its broad and comprehensive basis of citizenship ; its clause regulating representation in Congress and coercing the States into granting suffrage to the negro ; its guarantee of the validity of the war debt of the Union and of pensions to its soldiers and their widows and orphans ; its inhibition of any tax by General or State Government for debts incurred in aid of the rebellion or for the emancipation of any slave ! These great achievements for liberty, in addition to the Fifteenth Amendment, would have been put to hazard and probably lost, could Mr. Phillips have had his way, in a vain struggle to reduce eleven States—four of them belonging to the original thirteen—to the condition of territories ; thus committing the General Government to a policy as arbitrary and as sure to lead to corruption and tyranny as the proconsular system of Rome.

And as if the territorial policy were not enough to have destroyed the Republican party at that time, Mr. Phillips would have plunged us into the wild, visionary, and unconstitutional scheme of confiscating the land of the rebels and giving it to the freedmen. Confiscation laws were passed by Congress during the hottest period of the war ; but even then, when passions were at the highest, no enactment was proposed which did not recognize the express limitation of the Constitution that in punishing treason there should be no "forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted." The Republican party has been flippantly accused by its opponents of disregarding the Constitution, but I venture to say that there is no parallel in the world to so strict an observance of written law during a critical and mighty war as was shown by the Republicans throughout the protracted and bloody struggle that involved the fate of free government on this continent. It is impossible, therefore, that the Republican party could have adopted the policy which Mr. Phillips commends ; and impossible that it could have succeeded if the attempt had been made.

Of the replies made by the other gentlemen, identified as

they have been and are with the Democratic party, it is noteworthy that, with the exception of Mr. Blair, they agree that the negro ought not to be disfranchised. As all of these gentlemen were hostile to the enfranchisement of the race, their present position must be taken as a great step forward, and as an attestation of the wisdom and courage of the Republican party at the time they were violently opposing its measures. This general expression leaves Mr. Blair to be treated as an exception, and for many of his averments the best answer is to be found in the suggestions and concessions of his Democratic associates. I need not make an elaborate reply to Mr. Blair, when he is answered with such significance and such point by those of his own political household. It is one of the curious developments of political history, that a man who sat in the cabinet of Abraham Lincoln and was present when Emancipation was decreed should live to write a paper against the enfranchisement of the negro, when the Vice-President of the Rebel Confederacy and two of its most distinguished officers, are taking the other side!

Of Governor Hampton's paper it is fair to say that it seems to have been written to cover a case; its theory and application being adapted to the latitude of South Carolina, and to his own political course. Mr. Hampton is a man of strong parts, possessing courage and executive force, but he has been in the thick of the fight, and has had personal ambitions to gratify which may not place him in history as an impartial witness. His personality protrudes at every point, and his conception of what should be done and what should be undone at the South, is precisely what is included in his own career. When Mirabeau was describing all the great qualities that should distinguish a popular leader, the keenest of French wits said he "had forgotten to add that he should be pock-marked."

Mr. Lamar offers a contrast to Governor Hampton. He generalizes and philosophizes with great ability, and presents the strange combination of a "refined speculatist," and a trustful optimist—embodying some of the characteristics of Mr. Calhoun, whom he devoutly followed, and of Mr. Seward, whom he always opposed. Mr. Lamar is the only man in public life who can be praised in New England

for a warm eulogy of Charles Sumner, and immediately afterward elected to the Senate as the representative of the whiteline Democrats of Mississippi. And yet inconsistent as these positions are, it is the dream of Mr. Lamar's life to reconcile them. He is intensely devoted to the South; he has generous aspirations for the Union of the States; he is shackled with the narrowing dogma of State rights, and yet withal has boundless hopes for an imperial republic whose power shall lead and direct the civilization of the world. Hedged in by opposing theories, embarrassed by forces that seem irreconcilable, Mr. Lamar, probably more than any other man of the Democratic party, gives anxious and inquiring thought to the future.

Of Mr. Stephens and Mr. Hendricks it may be said that in their treatment of the question, one aims to vindicate the course of his native Georgia; the other to gain some advantage for the Democratic party of the nation. Mr. Stephens has the mind of a metaphysician, led astray sometimes in his logic and sometimes in his facts, but aiming always to promote the interest of the State to which he is devoted. Mr. Hendricks is an accomplished political leader, with large experience, possessed of tact and address, and instinctively viewing every public question from its relation to the fate and fortune of his party. Mr. Stephens argues from the standpoint of Georgia; Mr. Hendricks has in view the Democracy of the nation.

These Democratic leaders unite in upholding the suffrage of the negro under existing circumstances, but each with an obvious feeling that some contradiction is to be reconciled, some record to be amended, some consistency to be vindicated. They all unite, however, on the common ground of denouncing the men who controlled the negro vote at the outset in the interest of the Republican party; and the underlying conclusion, not expressed but implied, is that if the military force had been absent and the persuasion of the Freedmen's Bureau had not been applied, the negroes would have flocked, as doves to their windows, to the outstretched and protecting arms of the Democratic party. This seems to me to be sheer recklessness of assumption; the very bravado of argument. Why should the negro have been disposed to vote with the Democratic party? Mr. Hendricks

says he was made to feel that "he owed servitude to a party through the agency of United States officials and the Freedmen's Bureau." But can Mr. Hendricks give any possible reason why the negro should have voted with the Democratic party at that time? Does not the record of Mr. Hendricks himself as the leader of the Democratic party in the Senate show the most conclusive reasons why the negro should have voted with the Republicans?

Mr. Hendricks argued and voted in the Senate against emancipating the negro from helpless slavery; when made free, Mr. Hendricks argued and voted against making him a citizen; citizenship conferred, Mr. Hendricks argued and voted against bestowing suffrage; and he argued and voted against conferring upon the negro the most ordinary civil rights, even inveighing in the Senate against giving to colored men who were eligible to seats in Congress the simple privilege of a seat in the horse-cars of Washington in common with white men. Conceding to the negro the ordinary instincts and prejudices of human nature, it must have required the combined and energetic action of the United States army, the Federal officers, and the Freedmen's Bureau, to hold him back from his impulsive and irrepressible desire to vote with Mr. Hendricks and the Democratic party!

I do not use this *argumentum ad hominem* in any personal or offensive sense towards Mr. Hendricks. His position was not different from his associates and his followers in the Democratic party on all the questions where I have referred to his votes and his speeches. Mr. Lamar occupied the same ground practically, and so did Mr. Stephens and Governor Hampton. Indeed, the entire Democratic party opposed legislation for the amelioration of the negro's condition at every step, and opposed it not with the mere registry of negative votes, but with an energetic hostility that too often assumed the phase of anger and acrimony. Emancipation from slavery, grant of citizenship and civil rights, conferring of suffrage, were all carried for the negro by the Republicans against a protesting and resisting Democracy. Democratic Senators and Representatives in Congress fought all these measures with unflagging zeal. In State Legislatures, on the stump, in the partisan press, through all the agencies that influence and direct public opinion, the Demo-

crats showed implacable hostility to each and every step that was taken towards elevating the negro to a better condition. So that it was inevitable that the negro who had sense enough to feel that he was free, who had perception enough to know that he was a citizen, who had pride enough to realize that he was a voter, felt and knew and realized that these great enfranchisements had been conferred upon him by the persistent energy of the Republican party, and in spite of the efforts of an embittered and united Democracy. Is further statement necessary to explain why the negro should have cast his vote for the Republican party when a free ballot was in his hands? It can be readily understood why he may now cast a vote for the Democratic party when he is no longer allowed freedom of choice, when he is no longer master of his own ballot.

It must be borne in mind that the Republicans were urged and hastened to measures of amelioration for the negro by very dangerous developments in the Southern States looking to his re-enslavement, in fact if not in form. The year that followed the accession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency was full of anxiety and of warning to all the lovers of justice, to all who hoped for "a more perfect Union" of the States. In nearly every one of the Confederate States the white inhabitants assumed that they were to be restored to the Union with their State governments precisely as they were when they seceded in 1861, and that the organic change created by the Thirteenth Amendment might be practically set aside by State legislation. In this belief they exhibited their policy toward the negro. Considering all the circumstances, it would be hard to find in history a more causeless and cruel oppression of a whole race than was embodied in the legislation of those revived and unreconstructed State governments. Their membership was composed wholly of the "ruling class," as they termed it, and in no small degree of Confederate officers below the rank of brigadier-general, who sat in the Legislature in the very uniforms which had distinguished them as enemies of the Union upon the battle-field. Limited space forbids my transcribing the black code wherewith they loaded their statute-books. In Mr. Lamar's State the negroes were forbidden, under very severe penalties, "to keep firearms of

any kind"; they were apprenticed, if minors, to labor; preference being given by the statute to their "former owners." Grown men and women were compelled to let their labor by contract, the decision of whose terms was wholly in the hands of the whites; and those who failed to contract were to be seized as "vagrants," heavily fined, and their labor sold by the sheriff at public outcry to the highest bidder. The terms "master" and "mistress" continually recur in the statutes, and the slavery that was thus instituted was a far more degrading, merciless, and mercenary type than that which was blotted out by the Thirteenth Amendment.

South Carolina, whose moderation and justice are so highly praised by Governor Hampton, enacted a code still more cruel than that I have quoted from Mississippi. Firearms were forbidden to the negro, and any violation of the statute was punished by "a fine equal to twice the value of the weapon so unlawfully kept," and, "if that be not immediately paid, by corporeal punishment." It was further provided that "no person of color shall pursue or practice the art, trade, or business of an artisan, mechanic, or shop-keeper, or any other trade or employment (besides that of husbandry or that of a servant under contract for labor), until he shall have obtained a license from the Judge of the District Court, which license shall be good for one year only." If the license was granted to the negro to be a shop-keeper or peddler, he was compelled to pay one hundred dollars per annum for it, and if he pursued the rudest mechanical calling he could do so only by the payment of a license fee of ten dollars per annum. No such fees were exacted of the whites, and no such fee of free blacks during the era of slavery. The negro was thus hedged in on all sides; he was down and he was to be kept down, and the chivalric race that denied him a fair and honest competition in the humblest mechanical pursuits were loud in their assertions of his inferiority and his incompetency.

But it was reserved for Louisiana to outdo both South Carolina and Mississippi in this horrible legislation. In that State all agricultural laborers were compelled to make labor contracts during the first ten days of January, for the next year. The contract once made, the laborer was not to be allowed to leave his place of employment during the year

except upon conditions not likely to happen and easily prevented. The master was allowed to make deductions of the servants' wages "for injuries done to animals and agricultural implements committed to his care," thus making the negroes responsible for wear and tear. Deductions were to be made for "bad or negligent work," the master being the judge. For every act of "disobedience" a fine of one dollar was imposed on the offender; disobedience being a technical term made to include, besides "neglect of duty," and "leaving home without permission," such fearful offenses as "impudence," or "swearing," or "indecent language in the presence of the employer, his family, or agent," or "quarreling or fighting with one another." The master or his agent might assail every ear with profaneness aimed at the negro men, and outrage every sentiment of decency in the foul language addressed to the negro women; but if one of the helpless creatures, goaded to resistance and crazed under tyranny, should answer back with impudence, or should relieve his mind with an oath, or retort indecency upon indecency, he did so at the cost to himself of one dollar for every outburst. The "agent" referred to in the statute is the well-known overseer of the cotton region, and the care with which the law-makers of Louisiana provided that his delicate ears and sensitive nerves should not be offended with an oath or an indecent word from a negro will be appreciated by all who have heard the crack of the whip on the Southern plantation.

It is impossible to quote all the hideous provisions of these statutes, under whose operation the negro would have relapsed gradually and surely into actual and admitted slavery. Kindred legislation was attempted in a large majority of the Confederate States, and it is not uncharitable or illogical to assume that the ultimate re-enslavement of the race was the fixed design of those who framed the laws, and of those who attempted to enforce them.

I am not speculating as to what would have been done, or might have been done, in the Southern States if the National Government had not intervened. I have quoted what actually was done by Legislatures under the control of Southern Democrats, and I am only recalling history when I say that those outrages against human nature were upheld by the

Democratic party of the country. All the Democrats whose articles I am reviewing were, in various degrees, active or passive, principal or endorser, parties to this legislation ; and the fixed determination of the Republican party to thwart it and destroy it called down upon its head all the anathemas of Democratic wrath. But it was just at that point in our history when the Republican party was compelled to decide whether the emancipated slave should be protected by national power or handed over to his late master, to be dealt within the spirit of the enactments I have quoted.

To restore the union on a safe foundation, to re-establish law and promote order, to insure justice and equal rights to all, the Republican party was forced to its Reconstruction policy. To hesitate in its adoption was to invite and confirm the statutes of wrong and cruelty to which I have referred. The first step taken was to submit the Fourteenth Amendment, giving citizenship and civil rights to the negro, and forbidding that he be counted in the basis of representation unless he should be reckoned among the voters. The Southern States could have been readily readmitted to all their powers and privileges in the Union by accepting the Fourteenth Amendment, and negro suffrage would not have been forced upon them. The gradual and conservative method of training the negroes for franchise, as suggested and approved by Governor Hampton, had many advocates among Republicans in the North ; and, though in my judgment it would have proved delusive and impracticable, it was quite within the power of the South to secure its adoption or at least its trial.

But the States lately in insurrection rejected the Fourteenth Amendment with apparent scorn and defiance. In the Legislatures of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Florida, it did not receive a single vote ; in South Carolina only one vote ; in Virginia only one ; in Texas five votes ; in Arkansas two votes ; in Alabama ten ; in North Carolina eleven ; and in Georgia, where Mr. Stephens boasts that they gave the negro suffrage in advance of the Fifteenth Amendment, only two votes could be found in favor of making the negro even a citizen. It would have been more candid in Mr. Stephens if he had stated that it was the Legislature assem-

bled under the Reconstruction Act that gave suffrage to the negro in Georgia, and that the unreconstructed Legislature, which had his endorsement and sympathies, and which elected him to the United States Senate, not only refused suffrage to the negro, but loaded him with grievous disabilities, and passed a criminal code of barbarous severity for his punishment.

It is necessary to a clear apprehension of the needful facts in this discussion to remember events in the proper order of time. The Fourteenth Amendment was submitted to the States, June 13, 1866. In the autumn of that year, or very early in 1867, the Legislatures of all the insurrectionary States except Tennessee, had rejected it. Thus and then the question was forced upon us, whether the Congress of the United States, composed wholly of men who had been loyal to the Government, or the Legislatures of the Rebel States, composed wholly of men who had been disloyal to the Government, should determine the basis on which their relations to the Union should be resumed. In such a crisis the Republican party could not hesitate ; to halt, indeed, would have been an abandonment of the principles on which the war had been fought ; to surrender to the rebel Legislatures would have been cowardly desertion of its loyal friends, and a base betrayal of the Union cause.

And thus, in March, 1867, after and because of the rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment by Southern Legislatures, Congress passed the Reconstruction Act. This was the origin of negro suffrage. The Southern whites knowingly and willfully brought it upon themselves. The Reconstruction Act would never have been demanded had the Southern States accepted the Fourteenth Amendment in good faith. But that amendment contained so many provisions demanded by considerations of great national policy, that its adoption became an absolute necessity. Those who controlled the Federal Government would have been recreant to their plainest duty, had they permitted the power of these States to be wielded by disloyal hands against the measures deemed essential to the security of the Union. To have destroyed the rebellion on the battle-field, and then permit it to seize the power of eleven States and cry check on all changes in the organic law necessary to prevent future re-

bellions, would have been a weak and wicked conclusion to the grandest contest ever waged for human rights and for constitutional liberty.

Negro suffrage being thus made a necessity by the obduracy of those who were in control of the South, it became a subsequent necessity to adopt the Fifteenth Amendment. Nothing could have been more despicable than to use the negroes to secure the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, and then leave them exposed to the hazard of losing suffrage whenever those who had attempted to reenslave them should regain political power in their States. Hence the Fifteenth Amendment—which never pretended to guarantee universal suffrage, but simply forbade that any should lose his vote because he had once been a slave, cause his face might be black, or because his remote ancestors came from Africa.

A man sincere congratulation that, after all the thirteen years, four eminent leaders of should unite in approving negro suffrage, be considered cynical, certainly re to suggest that this Democratic can side of a long contest has been ne when many causes have con suffrage in the South powerless ty. Even in districts where the compared with the whites, the e Representatives to Congress. I pproval of negro suffrage by a is the negro was able to elect one te Republican. But when his ne by violence, when his white o exile, when murder has been idate the voting majority, and itical power has been destroyed, Democratic party applauding as February 19, 1872, years pted and while it was still a s, such influential and promi yard of Delaware, and Mr. n an official report to Con l, regarding negro suffrage,

that "there can be no permanent partition of power nor any peaceable joint exercise of power among such discordant bodies of men. *One or the other must have all or none.* . . . Pseudo-philanthropists," continued Mr. Bayard and Mr. Beck, "may talk never so loudly about equality before the law," where equality is not found in the great natural law of race ordained by the Creator." Mr. Beck and Mr. Bayard made this report when fresh from protracted intercourse with Southern Democratic leaders, and it will not be denied that in their expressions they fully represented the opinions of their party at that time. Will it be offensive, if I again ask, what has changed the views of Democrats except the overthrow of free suffrage? So long as the negro can furnish thirty-five Representatives and thirty-five Electors to the South, his suffrage will be upheld in name, and so long as the Democratic party is dominant it will be destroyed in fact.

Mr. Hendricks is a conspicuous convert. The negro is washed and made white in his eyes as soon as he votes the Democratic ticket. He is greatly affected by the fact that negroes "helped to bury a Democratic Congressman whom they had helped to elect." In this simple incident Mr. Hendricks finds great evidence of restored kindness between the races. Was there ever a time when the colored people refused to show respect to the whites, living or dead? The evidence would have been stronger if an instance had been quoted of white men paying respect to a deceased negro. But, unhappily, if funeral incidents are to be cited, Mr. Hendricks will find more than he cares to quote. Almost at the moment of his writing testimony was given before a Senate Committee in Louisiana not only of the murder of two negroes for the sin of being Republicans, but of their being left without sepulture, and actually devoured by hogs on the highway! Their remains—the phrase is doubly significant in this case—were finally covered with earth by some negro women, the negro men having all fled from their white persecutors.

Mr. Hendrick's high praise of the governments of South Carolina and Louisiana, since they fell under Democratic control, is not justified by the facts. Where he speaks of Republicans connected with the government of South Caro-

lina "meeting their punishment in prison and seeking their safety in flight," he provokes an easy retort. One of these men, an ex-Congressman, was sent to prison on disgracefully insufficient evidence, the Judge delivering a bitter partisan harangue when he charged the jury to convict. Governor Hampton, to his credit be it said, pardoned him, and it would have been still more to his credit had he pardoned him more promptly. In another case the Executive of a great Commonwealth refused Governor Hampton's requisition, on the ground that the man was not wanted for the cause and crime alleged. These criminal charges have in many cases borne the appearance of mere political persecutions, in which the victims are not the persons most dishonored.

On the other hand, when South Carolinians by the hundred were indicted for interfering with the freedom of elections, in killing negroes by the score, it was found impossible to convict one of them. Against the clearest and most overwhelming evidence, these murderers were allowed to go free, and the prosecutions were abandoned. South Carolina courts appear to be "organized to convict" when a Republican is on trial, and South Carolina juries impaneled to acquit when Democrats are charged with crime.

In the opinion of Mr. Hendricks, Louisiana under Republican control, was the very worst of all Southern governments. A change was made in April, 1877, and since then the Democratic party has held undisputed power in that State. When the Republicans surrendered the State, there was a surplus of \$300,000 in its treasury; taxes were collected, credit maintained, and interest on its public securities promptly and faithfully paid. To-day, after twenty-one months of Democratic government, according to public and undenied report, the State is bankrupt; its taxes uncollected; its treasury empty; nearly half a million overdrawn on its fiscal agent; the interest on its public debt unpaid, and its most sacred obligations protested and dishonored. Had such decadence happened in a State under Republican rule—succeeding a prosperous Democratic administration—the denunciations of Mr. Hendricks might have been fittingly applied.

My conclusions on the topic under discussion are:

First. Slavery having been constitutionally abolished by the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment, the question of suffrage was unsettled. But it may be safely affirmed that the Republicans had no original design of interfering with the control which the States had always exercised on that question.

Second. The loyal men who had conducted the war to a victorious end were not willing that those who had rebelled against the Union should come back with political power vastly increased beyond that which they had wielded in the days of pro-slavery domination ; and hence they proposed the Fourteenth Amendment, practically basing representation in Congress upon the voting population—the same for North and South.

Third. Instead of accepting the Fourteenth Amendment, the insurrectionary States scornfully rejected it, and claimed the right to settle for themselves the terms on which they would resume relations with the Union. And they forthwith proceeded to nullify the Thirteenth Amendment by adopting a series of black laws which remanded the negro to a worse servitude than that from which he had been emancipated.

Fourth. When the Government, administered by loyal hands, found it impossible to secure the necessary guarantees for future safety from the “ruling” or rebel class of the South, they demanded and enforced a Reconstruction in which loyalty should assert its rights. Hence the negro was admitted to suffrage.

Fifth. The negro having aided by loyal votes in securing the great guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Republicans declared that he should not afterward be deprived of suffrage on account of race or color. Hence the Fifteenth Amendment.

Sixth. So long as the negro vote was effective in the South in defeating the Democracy, the leaders of that party denounced and opposed it. They withdraw their opposition just at the moment when, by fraud, intimidation, violence and murder, free suffrage on the part of the negro in the South is fatally impaired ; by which I mean that the negro is not allowed to vote freely where his vote can defeat and

elect. As a minority voter in Democratic districts, he is not disturbed.

Seventh. The answer so often made, that, compared with the whole number of Congressional districts in the South, only a small number are disturbed, is not apposite, and does not convey the truth. For it is only in the districts where the negroes make a strong and united effort that violence is needed, and there it is generally found. Thus it is said that only in a comparatively few parishes of Louisiana was there any disturbance at the late election. But the Democrats contrived to have a disturbance at the points where it was necessary to overcome a large Republican vote, and of course had none where there was no resistance. It will generally be found that the violence occurs in the districts where the Republicans have a rightful majority.

Eighth. As the matter stands, all violence in the South injures to the benefit of one political party. And that party is counting upon its accession to power and its rule over the country for a series of years by reason of the great number of electoral votes which it wrongfully gains. Financial credit, commercial enterprises, manufacturing industries, may all possibly pass under the control of the Democratic party by reason of its unlawful seizure of political power in the South. Our institutions have been tried by the fiery test of war, and have survived. It remains to be seen whether the attempt to govern the country by the power of a "Solid South," unlawfully consolidated, can be successful.

No thoughtful man can consider these questions without deep concern. The mighty power of a republic of fifty millions of people—with a continent for their possession—can only be wielded permanently by being wielded honestly. In a fair and generous struggle for partisan power let us not forget those issues and those ends which are above party. Organized wrong will ultimately be met by organized resistance. The sensitive and dangerous point is in the casting and the counting of free ballots. Impartial suffrage is our theory. It must become our practice. Any party of American citizens can bear to be defeated. No party of American citizens will bear to be defrauded. The men who

are interested in a dishonest count are units. The men who are interested in an honest count are millions. I wish to speak for the millions of all political parties, and in their name to declare that the Republic must be strong enough, and shall be strong enough, to protect the weakest of its citizens in all their rights. To this simple and sublime principle let us, in the lofty language of Burke, "attest the coming generations, let us attest the advancing generations, between which, as a link in the great chain of eternal order, we stand!"

JAMES G. BLAINE.

CHAPTER XIII.

Blaine Again in his Seat.—His Acknowledged Leadership.—Blaine's Speech on Irredeemable Currency.—His Celebrated Debate with Hill of Georgia.—Blaine and Garfield.—Blaine's Speech on Jeff Davis.—Democratic Hatred.—Bitter Personal Attacks.—Schemes to Prevent his Nomination at Cincinnati.—Accused of Speculating in Railroad Bonds.—The Pacific and the Arkansas and Little Rock Railroad.—Blaine's defeat of his Accusers.

In the political campaign of 1874 the elections throughout the country resulted in placing a majority of Democrats in the House of Representatives, and Blaine again took his seat among the members. This change was not so great a loss as it at first appeared. Such a leader and such a worker was greatly needed on the floor of the House, for the general interests of national legislation. It was great good fortune to his party that when the Democrats had so large a working majority and so many unusually talented men, they had such a skilled debater and such a bright parliamentarian to warn, encourage and protect them, as well as one who could hinder and defeat their opponents.

It was also of great advantage to the Republicans that they had a man who was universally acknowledged to be the leader and one in whom all had been taught to have implicit trust.

Every word he spoke, every motion he made, and every speech he delivered, were made the common subject of editorial comment and social discussion in every town and city in the nation.

His labor was incessant. He had not a moment for recreation. If he tried to escape for an hour from the load he carried, men or dispatches forced themselves in some way upon his privacy. Louder and clearer came the demand from all classes and from all parts of the country, that he should be a candidate for the Presidency.

But there were competitors and there were enemies. The greater the man the more certain he is to have both. Blaine had them, but he worked on leaving all questions of ambition to the decision of others. He would not "trim" or compromise with any one or any measure, for personal gain. He was great enough and wise enough to see that the Nation's ultimate good should be a statesman's only aim.

In 1876 the agitation of questions concerning the currency became very serious and alarming. Financial distress throughout the Nation was laid at the door of legislation, rather than at the threshold of universal individual speculation and extravagance. Wild schemes of finance, equal in absurdity to the air castles of French financiering during the inflation of Law, captured the frightened masses. Even statesmen having many years of experience, were found to advocate the most foolish schemes concerning paper money and banking business. Some in Congress urged the nation to sell all its gold, issue "paper promises never to pay" and compel the people to receive it for merchandise and labor.

How true to unchanging principle and how wise Blaine showed himself to be, can be seen by reading the following speech in the light of subsequent experience and deliberate judgment. It was delivered in the House, Feb. 10th, 1876 :

Mr. Chairman : The honor of the National Government and the prosperity of the American people are alike menaced by those who demand the perpetuation of an irredeemable

paper currency. For more than two years the country has been suffering from prostration in business; confidence returns but slowly; trade revives only partially; and to-day, with capital unproductive and labor unemployed, we find ourselves in the midst of an agitation respecting the medium with which business transactions shall be carried on. Until this question is definitely adjusted it is idle to expect that full measure of prosperity to which the energies of our people and the resources of the land entitle us. In the way of that adjustment one great section of the Democratic party—possibly its controlling power—stubbornly stands to-day. The Republicans, always true to the primal duty of supporting the Nation's credit, have now cast behind them all minor differences and dissensions on the financial question, and have gradually consolidated their strength against inflation. The currency, therefore, becomes of necessity, a prominent political issue, and those Democrats who are in favor of honest dealing by the Government, and honest money for the people, may be compelled to act as they did in that still graver exigency when the existence of the Government itself was at stake.

While this question should be approached in no spirit of partisan bitterness, it has yet become so entangled with party relations that no intelligent discussion of it can be had without giving its political history, and if that history bears severely on the Democratic party, its defenders must answer the facts, and not quarrel with their presentation. Firmly attached to one political party myself, firmly believing that parties in a free government are as healthful as they are inevitable, I still think there are questions about which parties should agree never to disagree; and of these is the essential nature and value of the circulating medium. And it is a fact of especial weight and significance that up to the paper-money era, which was precipitated upon us during the rebellion as one of war's inexorable necessities, there never was a political party in this country that believed in any other than the specie standard for our currency. If there was any one principle that was rooted and grounded in the minds of our earlier statesmen, it was the evil of paper-money; and no candid man of any party can read the Constitution of the United States and not be convinced that its

framers intended to protect and defend our people from the manifold perils of an irredeemable currency. Nathaniel Macon, one of the purest and best of American statesmen, himself a soldier of the Revolution and a member of Congress continuously during the administration of our first six Presidents, embracing in all a period of nearly forty years, expressed the whole truth when he declared in the Senate that "this was a hard-money Government, founded by hard-money men, who had themselves seen and felt the evil of paper money and meant to save their posterity from it."

To this uniform adherence to the specie standard the crisis of the rebellion forced an exception. In January, 1862, with more than a half million of men in arms, with a daily expenditure of nearly two millions of dollars, the Government suddenly found itself without money. Customs yielded but little, internal taxes had not yet been levied, public credit was feeble, if not paralyzed, our armies had met with one signal reverse and nowhere with marked success, and men's minds were filled with gloom and apprehension. The one supreme need of the hour was money, and money the Government did not have. What, then, should be done—rather, what could be done? The ordinary Treasury note had been tried and failed, and those already issued were discredited and below the value of the bills of country banks. The Government, in this great and perilous need, promptly called to its aid a power never before exercised. It authorized the issue of one hundred and fifty millions of notes, and declared them to be a legal tender for all debts, public and private, with two exceptions.

The ablest lawyers who sustained this measure did not find warrant for it in the text of the Constitution, but, like the late Senator Fessenden, of my own State, placed it on the ground of "absolute, overwhelming necessity;" and that illustrious Senator declared that, "the necessity existing, he had no hesitation." Indeed, Sir, to hesitate was to be lost, for the danger was that, if Congress prolonged the debate on points of constitutional construction, its deliberation might be interrupted by the sound of rebel artillery on the opposite shore of the Potomac. The Republican Sena-

tors and Representatives, therefore, dismissing all doubts and casuistry, stood together for the country, and if taunted, as they were, by the Democracy and disloyalty of that day, with violating the Constitution, they pointed to that law which is older than constitutions. Adopting the sentiment, as they might have quoted the imputed language of John Milton, they believed that "there is the law of self-preservation, written by God himself, on our hearts ; there is the primal compact and bond of society, not graven on stone, nor sealed with wax, nor put down on parchment, nor set forth in any express form of word by men when of old they came together, but implied in the very act that they so came together, presupposed in all subsequent law, not to be repealed by any authority, not invalidated by being omitted in any code, inasmuch as from thence are all codes and all authority."

But the promptings of patriotism, the pressure of necessity, the "despotism of duty," which thus decided the course of the Republicans, failed to influence the Democrats in Congress. Marshaled and led by Mr. Pendleton, since become the great advocate of inflation, the Democratic Representatives voted in well-nigh solid column against the legal-tender bill. Bankruptcy in the Treasury was impending ; eighty millions of unpaid requisitions lay on the Secretary's desk ; a large part of the army had not received a dollar for six months ; supplies were failing ; recruiting halted ; the spirits of the people drooped ; while the Executive Department, charged with the conduct of the war, urged that critical campaigns, then in progress, would necessarily end in disaster unless relief could be afforded in this way. But Democratic consciences were too tender, and Democratic scruples too intense, at that time, to permit such a fearful infraction of the Constitution as the passage of a legal-tender bill, even to save the Union of our fathers, and thus preserve the Constitution itself.

The necessities of the Government were so great, and expenditures so enormous, that another hundred and fifty millions of legal-tender notes were speedily called for, and granted by Congress, the Democrats again voting, under Mr. Pendleton's lead, against the measure. With varying fortunes, the last year of the war was reached, with three

hundred millions of legal-tender in circulation. With the strain of our public credit, and the doubts and vicissitudes of the struggle, these notes had fallen far below par in gold, and it became apparent, to every clear-headed observer, that the continued issue of legal tenders, with no provision for their redemption, and no limit to their amount, would utterly destroy the credit of the Government, and involve the Union cause in irretrievable disaster. But, at that moment, the military situation, with its perils and its prospects, was such that the Government must have money more rapidly than the sale of bonds could furnish it, and the danger was that the sale of bonds would be stopped altogether, unless some definite limit could be assigned to the issue of legal-tender notes. Accordingly, Congress sought, and successfully sought, to accomplish both ends at the same time, and they passed a bill granting one hundred millions additional legal-tender circulation—making four hundred millions in all—and then incorporated in the same law the solemn assurance and pledge that “the total amount of United States notes, issued and to be issued, shall never exceed four hundred millions of dollars.” And to this pledge every Democratic Senator and Representative assented, either actively or silently, as the Journals of both Houses will show. The subsequent readiness of many of these gentlemen to trample on it must be upon the broad principle of ethics that the Government should keep those pledges which are profitable, and disregard those which it will pay to violate.

When the war was over, and the Union saved, one of the first duties of the Government was to improve its credit and restore a sound currency to the people; and here we might have reasonably expected the aid of the Democratic party. But we did not receive it. Irreconcilably hostile to the issue of legal tenders when that form of credit was needed for the salvation of the country, the Democracy, as soon as the country was saved, conceived a violent love for these notes, and demanded an almost illimitable issue of them. Mr. Seymour, as the Democratic candidate for President in 1868, scouting the four hundred million pledge, stood on a platform demanding that sixteen hundred millions of Five-twenties be paid off in legal-tenders; and he so heartily approved this policy, that in his letter of acceptance he declared that

"he should strive to carry it out in the future, wherever he might be placed in political or private life." His position at that time was approved by every Democrat, of high or low degree in New York, was unanimously reaffirmed in their State Convention, was sustained by all their newspaper organs, and was the recognized creed of the party, East as well as West. Mr. Seymour and his political associates in New York have changed their ground, and now proclaim an honest financial creed; and after the manner of the Pharisee, they broaden their phylacteries, make loud professions of superior zeal, and thank God reverently that they are not as their sinful brethren of the Ohio Democracy—those financial Sadducees, who continue to reject all idea of resurrection or redemption for the legal tender.

I have thus briefly referred to the past, Mr. Chairman, only because I think it has an important bearing on the present and the future. I do not assume that the Republican party can possibly discharge its pending responsibilities by merely pointing to its former grand achievements. "Let not virtue seek remuneration for the thing it was." But I do claim that on this financial question the course of the Republican party in the past is a guarantee for the future, and that equally the course of the Democratic party, of both wings and all shades, is a menace and a warning to the people.

If, however, the New York school of Democrats, repenting of their former course and seeking better ways for the future, are ready to give honest help in the restoration of a sound currency, they will be gladly welcomed and their faith will be tested by works before this session of Congress closes. They will not, however, deem it strange or harsh if, remembering their past record, we feel an uncomfortable sense of distrust as to their entire sincerity in the future. This distrust is increased when we witness the brazen boldness with which, in full view of their repudiation record of but yesterday, they assume a stilted tone of superior honesty on the financial question, and affect patronizing language toward the Republicans who saved the nation from the lasting blight of Mr. Seymour's triumph in 1868. Still further deepened and strengthened is the distrust when we remember the formal alliance which the New York Democrats have re-

newed with the Democrats of the South, to whom our whole financial system is but a reminder of what they themselves term their subjugation, and who from past action and present tendency are unfitted to be the safe repository of the nation's pledges for the payment of its war debt. We have passed into a new era, and to recall the Southern Democracy, with their appalling record, to their ancient control in this country would be as decisive a step backward and nightward as it would have been for the English people to surround William of Orange with a Parliament made up of adherents to the lost house of Stuart, or as it would be to-day for the French Assembly to thrust on McMahon a cabinet devoted to the fortunes of Henry the Fifth.

As I said at the outset of my remarks, Mr. Chairman, the country is suffering under one of those periodical revolutions in trade common to all commercial nations, and which thus far no wisdom of legislation has been able to avert. The natural restlessness of a people so alive and alert as ours, looks for an instant remedy, and the danger in such a condition of the public mind is that something may be adopted that will ultimately deepen the disease rather than lay the groundwork for an effectual cure. Naturally enough, in such a time the theories for relief are numerous, and we have marvelous recipes offered whereby the people shall be enabled to pay the dollar they owe with less than a hundred cents; while those who are caught with such a delusion seemingly forget that, even if this be so, they must likewise receive less than a hundred cents for the dollar that is due them. Whether the dollar that they owe to-day or the dollar that is due them to-morrow will have the greater or less number of cents, depends on the shifting of causes which they can neither control nor foresee; and, therefore, all certain calculation in trade is set at defiance, and those branches of business which take on the form of gambling are by a financial paradox the most secure and most promising.

Uncertainty as to the value of the currency from day to day is injurious to all honest industry. And while that which is known as the debtor interest should be fairly and generously considered in the shaping of measures for specie resumption, there is no justice in asking for inflation on its

behalf. Rather, there is the gravest injustice ; for you must remember that there is a large class of most deserving persons who would be continually and remorselessly robbed by such a policy. I mean the *labor* of the country, that is compelled to live from and by its daily earnings. The savings-banks, which represent the surplus owned by the laborers of the nation, have deposits to-day exceeding eleven hundred millions of dollars—more than the entire capital stock and deposits of the national banks. The pensioners, who represent the patriotic suffering of the country, have a capitalized investment of six hundred millions of dollars.

Here are seventeen hundred millions of money incapable of receiving anything but instant and lasting injury from inflation. Whatever impairs the purchasing power of the dollar, correspondingly decreases the resources of the savings-bank depositor and pensioner. The pensioner's loss would be absolute, but it would probably be argued that the laborer would receive compensation by his nominally larger earnings. But this would prove totally delusive, for no possible augmentation of wages in a time of inflation will ever keep pace with the still greater increase of price in the commodities necessary to sustain life, except—and mark the exception—under the condition witnessed during the war, when the number of laborers was continually reduced by the demand for men to serve in the army and navy. And those honest-minded people who recall the startling activity of trade and the large profits during the war, and attribute both to an inflated currency, commit the error of leaving out the most important element of the calculation. They forget that the Government was a customer for nearly four years at the rate of two or three millions of dollars per day—buying countless quantities of all staple articles ; they forget that the number of consumers was continually enlarging as our armed force grew to its gigantic proportions, and that the number of producers was by the same cause continually growing less, and that thus was presented, on a scale of unprecedented magnitude, that simple problem, familiar alike to the political economist and the village trader, of the demand being greater than the supply, and a consequent rise in the price.

Had the Government been able to conduct the war on a

gold basis, and provided the coin for its necessarily large and lavish expenditure, a rise in the price of labor and a rise in the value of commodities would have been inevitable. And the rise of both labor and commodities in gold would have been for the time as marked as in paper, adding, of course, the depreciation of the latter to its scale of prices.

While the delusion of creating wealth by the issue of irredeemable paper currency may lead to any number of absurd propositions, the advocates of the heresy seem to have settled down on two measures—or, rather, one measure composed of two parts—namely : To abolish the national banks, and then have the Government issue legal-tenders at once to the amount of the bank circulation, and add to the volume from time to time thereafter “according to the wants of trade.” The two propositions are so inseparably connected that I shall discuss them together.

The national-bank system, Mr. Chairman, was one of the results of the war, and the credit of its origin belongs to the late Salmon P. Chase, then Secretary of the Treasury. And it may not be unprofitable just here to recall to the House the circumstances which at the time made the national banks a necessity to the Government. At the outbreak of the war there were considerably over a thousand State banks of various degrees of responsibility, or irresponsibility, scattered throughout the country. Their charters demanded the redemption of their bills in specie, and under the pressure of this requirement their aggregate circulation was kept within decent limits, but the amount of it was in most instances left to the discretion of the directors, and not a few of these banks issued ten dollars of bills for one of specie in their vaults. With the passage of the legal-tender act, however, followed by an enormous issue of Government notes, the State banks would no longer be required to redeem in specie, and would therefore at once flood the country with their own bills and take from the Government its resource in that direction. To restrict and limit their circulation, and to make the banks as helpful as possible in the great work of sustaining the Government finances, the national-bank act was passed.

This act required, in effect, that every bank should loan its entire stock to the Government ; or, in other words, to

invest it in Government bonds ; and then, on depositing these bonds with the Treasurer of the United States, the bank might receive not exceeding ninety per cent. of their amount in circulating notes, the Government holding the bonds for the protection of the bill-holder in case the bank should fail. And that, in brief, is precisely what a national bank is to-day. I do not say the system is perfect. I do not feel called upon to rush to its advocacy or its defense. I do not doubt that as we go forward we may find many points in which the system can be improved. But this I am bold to maintain, that, contrasted with any other system of banking this country has ever had, it is immeasurably superior ; and whoever asks, as some Democrats now do, for its abolition, with a view of getting back any system of State banks, is a blind leader ; and a very deep ditch of disorder and disaster awaits the followers, if the people should ever be so blinded as to take that fatal step.

It is greatly to be deplored, Mr. Chairman, that many candid men have conceived the notion that it would be a saving to the people if all banks could be dispensed with and the circulating medium be furnished by the Government issuing legal-tenders. I do not stop here to argue that this would be in violation of the Government's pledge not to issue more than four hundred millions of its own notes. I merely remark that that pledge is binding in honor until legal-tenders are redeemable in coin on presentation, and when that point is reached there will be no desire, as there will certainly be no necessity, for the Government issuing additional notes.

The great and, to my mind, unanswerable objection to this scheme is that it places the currency wholly in the power and under the direction of Congress. Now, Congress always has been and always will be governed by the partisan majority, representing one of the political parties of the country ; and the proposition therefore reduces itself to this —that the circulating medium, instead of having a fixed, determinate character, shall be shifted, and changed, and manipulated according to the supposed needs of "the party." I profess, Mr. Chairman, to have some knowledge of the American Congress ; its general character, its *personnel*, its scope, its limit, its power. I think, on the whole, that it is

a far more patriotic, intelligent, and upright body of men than it generally gets credit for in the country ; but at the same time, I can possibly conceive of no assemblage of respectable gentlemen in the United States more utterly unfitted to determine from time to time the amount of circulation required by "the wants of trade." But, indeed, no body of men could be intrusted with that power. Even if it were possible to trust their discretion, their integrity would be constantly under suspicion. If they performed their duties with the purity of an angel of light, they could not successfully repel those charges which always follow where the temptation to do wrong is powerful and the way easy. Experience would very soon demonstrate that no more corrupt or corrupting device, no wilder or more visionary project, ever entered the brain of the schemer or the empiric.

If the people of the United States were fully awake and aroused to their interests, and could see things as they are, instead of increasing the power of Congress over the currency, they would by the shortest practicable process divorce the two, completely and forever. And this can only be done finally, effectually, irreversibly, by the resumption of specie payment. Why, Mr. Chairman, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that, ever since the Government was compelled to resort to irredeemable currency during the war, the assembling of Congress and its continuance in session have been the most disturbing elements in the business of the country. It is literally true that no man can tell what a day may bring forth. One large interest looks hopefully to contraction and the lowering of the gold premium ; another is ruined unless there is such a movement toward expansion as will send gold up. Each side, of course, endeavors to influence and convince Congress. Both sides naturally have their sympathizing advocates on this floor, and hence the substantial business interests of the country are kept in a feverish, doubtful, speculative state. Men's minds are turned from honest industry to schemes of financial gambling, the public morals suffer, old-fashioned integrity is forgotten, and solid, enduring prosperity, with honest gains and quiet contentment, is rendered impossible. We have suffered thus far in perhaps as light a degree as could be expected under the circumstances ; but once adopt the insane

idea that all currency shall be issued directly by the Government, and that Congress shall be the judge of the amount demanded by the "wants of trade," and you have this country adrift, rudderless, on a sea of troubles, shoreless and soundless.

It is a singular coincidence, Mr. Chairman—one of those odd happenings some times brought about by political mutations—that those who urge this scheme upon the Government are Democrats, every one of whom would doubtless claim to be a true disciple of Andrew Jackson. And yet all the evils of which Jackson warned the country in his famous controversy with the United States Bank, are a thousand-fold magnified and a thousand-fold aggravated in this plan of making the Treasury Department itself the bank, with Congress for the governing board of directors. I commend to gentlemen of Democratic antecedents a careful perusal of Jackson's great message of July 10, 1832, and I wish them to frankly tell this House how they think Jackson would have regarded the establishment of a great national paper money machine, to be located for all time in the Treasury Department, the bills of which shall have no provision for their redemption, and the amount of those bills to be determined by a majority vote in a party caucus.

And then, after Jackson's veto message shall have been diligently perused and inwardly digested by the Democratic advocates of irredeemable paper money, I will ask them if the present national-bank system does not fully meet all of Jackson's objections, and if it is not, indeed, as nearly as the difference of time and circumstances will permit, such a system of banking as Jackson indirectly commended and as he professed himself ready to submit a plan for if Congress should desire it? Disclaiming, as I have done, any special championship of the national banks, but merely referring to facts of record, I would be glad further to ask if the present system, in its entire freedom from monopoly, being equally open to all; if in the absolute protection it affords to that innocent third party, the billholder (no man ever having lost a dollar by the bills of national banks during the thirteen years the system has been in operation, whereas in the preceding thirteen years the losses to the people by bills of State banks exceeded fifty millions of dollars); if in that uni-

versal credit attached to its bills, saving the people all losses from exchange or discount wherever payment is to be made within the United States ; if in its protection of the rights of depositors ; if in its strength and solvency in time of financial disaster ; if in its subjection to taxation, both by the General and State Governments, until it confessedly pays a heavier tax than any other species of property ; if in its capacity to measure by the unvarying law of supply and demand, the precise amount of circulation required by the "wants of trade,"—I would be glad, I repeat, to ask any Democratic opponent of the system if it does not in each and all these features fill the ideal requirements of a bank as foreshadowed by Jackson, and if it does not indeed far transcend any ideal Jackson had, in its freedom for all to engage in it, in its resolute security to the public, and in its singular adaption to act as a regulator of the currency, preventing undue expansion and undue contraction with equal and unfailing certainty, and adjusting itself at once to the specie standard wherever the Government shall place its own notes at par with coin ?

It is urged by the opponents of the banking system that the three hundred and twenty millions of bank circulation can be supplied by legal-tenders and the interest on that amount of bonds stopped ! How ? Does any gentleman suppose that the bonds owned by the banks, and on deposit in the Treasury, will be exchanged for legal-tenders of a new and inflated issue ? Those bonds, are payable, principal and interest, in gold ; and, with the present amount of legal-tender notes, they are worth in the market from \$1.16 to \$1.25. What will they be worth in paper money when you double the amount of legal-tenders and postpone the day of specie resumption far beyond the vision of prophet or seer ? And this enormous issue of legal-tenders to take the place of bank-notes is only the beginning of the policy to be inaugurated. The "wants of trade" would speedily demand another issue, for the essential nature of an irredeemable currency is that it has no limit till a reaction is born of crushing disaster. A lesson might be learned (by those willing to be taught by fact and experience) from the course of events and during the war. When we had one hundred and fifty millions of legal-tender in circulation, it

stood for a long time nearly at par with gold. As the issue increased in amount the depreciation was very rapid, and at the time we fixed the four-hundred-million limit, that whole vast sum had less purchasing power in exchange for lands, or houses, or merchandise than the hundred and fifty millions had two years before. In the spring of 1862, \$150,000,000 of legal-tender would buy in the market \$147,000,000 in gold coin. In June, 1864, \$400,000,000 of legal-tender would buy only \$140,000,000 in gold coin.

And if we had not fixed the four-million limit, but had gone on issuing additional amounts according to the "wants of trade," as now argued and urged by the modern Democratic financiers, the result would have been that at each successive inflation the purchasing power of the aggregate mass would have been made less, and the value of the whole would have gone down, down, till it reached that point of utter worthlessness which so many like experiments have reached before; and the legal-tender, with all its vast capacity for good in a great national crisis, would have taken its place in history alongside of the French assignat and the Continental currency. The four-hundred-million limit happily saved us that direful experience, and at once caused the legal-tender to appreciate; but, unwilling to learn by this striking fact, the inflationists insist upon a scheme of expansion which would speedily raise the price of bonds to unprecedented figures, and by the time they should succeed in purchasing those that now stand as security for national bank circulation they would have increased the national debt by countless millions, and instead of making a saving for the Treasury they would end by depriving it of the eight millions of tax annually paid by the banks, and the people would have lost the additional eight millions of local tax derived from the same source.

I have not spoken of the confusion, the distress, the ruin that would result from forcing twenty-one hundred banks suddenly to wind up their affairs with nearly a thousand millions of dollars due them, which in some form must needs be liquidated and paid. The commercial fabric of the country rests upon the bank credits, and nothing short of financial lunacy could demand their rude disturbance. Who-

ever would strike down the banks, under the delusion that they can be driven to surrender their bonds for inflated legal-tenders, knows little of the laws of finance and still less of the laws of human action.

Among the anomalies presented in the currency discussion, Mr. Chairman, is that the West and South should have so large an element clamorous for inflation. Of all sections interested in the specie standard the West and the South stand first. The great staples produced in those vast and fertile regions, wheat, corn, flour, beef, pork, hides, tobacco, hemp, cotton, rice and sugar, are inevitably and peremptorily subjected to the gold standard when sold. The price of cotton sent to Lowell is just as much determined by the gold standard as that which is exported to Manchester, and the breadstuffs sold in New York are daily equated with the prices of the Liverpool Corn Exchange. And so of all the other commodities. And yet we hear representatives of the great interests that are thus compelled to sell at gold prices, resolute and determined in their demands that they shall be allowed to purchase their supplies on the paper basis. When it is remembered that the whole of the annual crop in this country, reckoning all products, reaches the enormous amount of three thousand millions on the gold basis, and that the surplus not consumed by the producers is many hundreds of millions of dollars, and that the value of the whole is estimated by the gold standard, the farmers of the country may find profitable food for reflection in calculating what the agricultural interest loses every year by an irredeemable paper currency.

One great and leading interest of my own and other States has suffered, still suffers, and will continue to suffer, so long as the currency is of irredeemable paper. I mean the ship-building and navigation interest—one that does more for the country and asks less from it than any other, except the agricultural; an interest that represents our distinctive nationality in all climes and upon all seas; an interest more essentially and intensely American than any other that falls under the legislative power of the Government, and which asks only to-day to be left where the founders of the Republic placed it a hundred years ago.

Give us the same basis of currency that our great com-

petitors of the British Empire enjoy, and we will, within the lifetime of those now living, float a larger tonnage under the American flag than was ever enrolled by one nationality since the science of navigation has been known among men. Aye, more, sir; give us the specie basis, and the merchant marine of America, sailing into all zones and gathering grain from all continents, will bring back to our shores its golden profits and supply to us that coin which will steady our system and offset the drains that weaken us in other directions. But ships built on the paper basis cannot compete with the lower-priced ones of the gold basis, and whoever advocates a perpetuity of paper money in this country confesses his readiness and willingness to sacrifice the navigation and commercial interest for all time.

It is often made the subject of reproach by the opponents of the Republican party that ten years have elapsed since the war closed and nothing effective has been done toward the resumption of specie payment. Even if this were true the Democrats are not justified in making the charge, for their party organization has been the principal obstacle and stumbling-block in the way of resumption. But, in fact, a great deal has been done towards specie payment by preventing inflation and keeping the government thus far within the four-hundred-million limit. To do this it has been necessary to wage a very sharp war with the Democrats, and against their demands that the national debt be paid in legal tender notes, the Republicans have had their hands full thus far to maintain the demands and dues of common honesty.

As a matter of fact, however, I am quite willing to admit that during these ten years no positive and vigorous steps have been taken toward specie payment. So long as the business of the country was progressing reasonably well, it was not practicable or possible to set to work deliberately without the pressure of necessity, to force specie resumption. Every man of affairs knows instinctively, without argument, that this was so, and he knows why it was so. Though not having the same moral issue involved, we were situated very much as Mr. Pitt found himself when asked why he did not bring in a bill for the suppression of the slave-trade. He said: "The Bristol merchants are too

strong for the ministry, because so many interests in the kingdom are connected with them."

But now the case is changed. Over-trading, the wild spirit of speculation, the undue expansion of credits, the enormous investments in premature enterprises, have worked out their legitimate and inevitable results, and with a full volume of paper money the crash came ; prices have fallen, settling day has arrived, painful liquidation proceeds, and the whole commercial and financial fabric is settling down on a solid foundation. Experience convinces where precept falls only on deaf ears, and to-day we have men by the thousand longing and asking for a return to specie, who three years ago would have violently opposed it. To attempt now to build up business by further inflation of the currency involves a theory so wild and destructive that it requires a man of great nerve or of great ignorance to propose it. Indeed, the shock to confidence by the panic of 1873 was so great that many commodities, and especially many fabrics, are below their normal price, and a firm, clear, decisive step in the direction of a sound, redeemable currency, imparting stability to our financial system and confidence to the people, would, in the judgment of our best merchants and manufacturers, be followed by a rise in prices, by a quick and wide-spread demand for labor, and by a generous and general revival of trade and business throughout the country. And beyond that we should enter upon an export trade in our fabrics such as we have not dreamed of in the past.

The time is ripe for it, outward circumstances are all propitious, and it only remains for Congress to give to the country a steady currency, and the bounding energy and enterprise of our people will do the rest.

There is not a cotton plantation in the South, not a grain or grazing farm in the West, not a coal-pit or iron-furnace in Pennsylvania or Ohio, not a manufactory in New England, not a shipyard on the Atlantic coast, not a lumber camp from the Penobscot to the Columbia, not a mile of railway between the two oceans, that would not feel the quickening, gainful influence of a final and general acquiescence in measures looking to specie payment. The Republicans meditate no harsh, or hasty, or destructive policy on

this question—but one that shall be firm, considerate and conclusive. The Democracy, by refusing to co-operate in the good work, can keep the matter in agitation and prolong the era of dullness and inactivity in the country. Having stubbornly refused to vote for legal-tenders when the salvation of the Union demanded them, that party can now fittingly complete its financial record by resisting all honest efforts to restore the specie standard to the people.

We are told, however, Mr. Chairman, in tones of most solemn warning, that this country is not able to maintain its paper money at par with coin. Sir, I reject the suggestion with scorn, and it seems to me if I could be persuaded of its truth I should be ashamed to rise in the American Congress and proclaim it. Here is California, one of our youngest States (thirty members of the Union being senior to her) with a vast territory and a sparse population, able to maintain coin payment, and maintaining it through a financial storm of terrific force, and by reason of it, gaining a position of solvency and safety with a rapidity and a certainty to which the paper basis affords no parallel but only a contrast. Here to the North of us lies the Dominion of Canada, stretching from Newfoundland to the borders of Alaska, with an inhospitable climate, and a soil in great part inferior to ours, commerce checked and suspended half the year by frozen rivers, manufactures scant, crude and undeveloped, with a population throughout the whole territory not so large as that of New York, and with wealth greatly inferior to that of the Empire State; with a debt as large in proportion to people and product and property, as our own; and yet Canada finds no difficulty in maintaining specie payment. And at Toronto, Montreal and Halifax the American tourist is mocked and made ashamed by the sight of coin dollars and gold eagles from our own mint, circulating freely as currency among a people whose wealth and resources are but an inconsiderable fraction of our own magnificent inheritance and possessions.

When the National Government was organized in 1789, the most liberal estimate of the property of the entire thirteen States placed it at six hundred millions of dollars—less than the wealth of Boston or of Chicago to-day. The population was four millions, showing a property of one hun-

dred and fifty dollars to each inhabitant. By the census of 1870 our population had increased to thirty-eight millions, and our wealth to thirty thousand millions, showing eight hundred dollars *per capita* for the whole people. Our population had increased in the eighty intervening years not quite tenfold, but our wealth had increased fifty-fold.

The patriots of 1790, with their slender resources, did not hesitate to assume a national debt of ninety millions of dollars, being more than one-seventh of their entire possessions; and it never occurred to them that an abandonment of the specie basis would make their burden lighter. They knew from their terrible experience with continental currency that all their evils would be painfully increased by a resort to paper money. And in their poverty, with no accumulated capital, with manufactures in feeblest infancy, with commerce undeveloped, with low prices for their agricultural products, they maintained the gold and silver standard, they paid their great debt, they grew rich in the property which we inherited, but far richer in that bright, unsullied honor which they bequeathed to us.

To-day the total debts of the American people, national State and municipal, are not so large in proportion to already acquired property as was the national debt alone in 1790. And when we take into the account the relative productive power of the two periods, our present burdens are absolutely inconsiderable. When we reflect what the railway, the telegraph, the cotton-gin, and our endless mechanical inventions and agencies have done for us in the way of increasing our capacity for producing wealth, we should be ashamed to pretend that we cannot bear larger burdens than our ancestors. And remember, Mr. Chairman, that our wealth from 1790 to 1870 increased more than five times as rapidly as our population, and that the same development is even now progressing with a continually accelerating ratio. Remember, also, that the annual income and earnings of our people are larger than those of any European country, larger than those of England, or France, or Russia, or the German Empire. The English people stand next to us, but we are largely in advance of them. The annual income of our entire people exceeds six thousand millions in gold, and despite financial reverses and revulsions is steadily increasing.

In view of these facts, it would be an unpardonable moral weakness in our people—always heroic when heroism is demanded—to doubt their own capacity to maintain specie payment. I am not willing, myself, to acknowledge that as a people we are less honorable, less courageous, or less competent than were our ancestors in 1790; still less am I ready to own that the people of the entire Union have not the pluck and the capacity of our friends and kinsmen in California; and last of all would I confess that the United States of America, with forty-four millions of inhabitants, with a territory surpassing all Europe in area, and I might almost say all the world in fertility of resources, are not able to do what a handful of British subjects, scattered from Cape Race to Vancouver's Island, can do so easily, so steadily, and so successfully.

Mr. Chairman, one great trouble in this whole financial question has been the general and for many years the growing disposition of our people not to regard the legal-tender note as a debt of the Government, but rather as something which is never to be paid. Such was not the feeling among the people when the legal-tenders first appeared, and I think this erroneous and injurious conception resulted from an act of Congress, which is a most vital point changed the character of the notes. When the first three hundred millions of legal-tenders were issued, they could be funded at the option of the holder in Five-twenty bonds in sums of \$50 and any multiple thereof. This provision gave a fixed, determinate character to the legal-tender, connected it with other Government issues by an equated value, made it an integral part of our whole system of public credit, and established it, in short, as a sort of a balance-wheel to our somewhat complicated financial machinery. So long as that provision was in force the money of the people was precisely as good and just the same as the money of the bondholder. By a mistaken policy, as I venture to affirm, this section of the law, on the request of Secretary Chase, was repealed after due notice given, and the moment that was done the legal-tender became a sort of financial orphan among us; it had thenceforward no connection or relationship with any other issue by the Government; it measured nothing itself and was measured by nothing, and ever since that day it

has had to fight its own battle, not merely unaided by other forms of public credit, but in a sense constantly hindered by them. To establish a fixed, steady value for it under these circumstances was as impossible as to determine a pound avoirdupois without reference to the law of gravitation.

Congress having taken away the provision for redemption, the public have naturally come to regard the legal-tender as perpetually irredeemable; and one of the first steps toward resumption is to change that impression, by reviving the funding privilege, in a bond of lower rate, with extended time, and a limitation on the amount that could be funded in any given period. As an amelioration to the debtor class, the suggestion has been made that the bonds into which the legal-tenders should be thus converted, might themselves be made a legal-tender for all debts contracted prior to the passage of the act. This feature may have merit, but I should desire to consider it very fully in all its bearings before assenting to it, and especially to its effect on the value of legal-tender notes, and also as to its constitutionality.

We have done much to maintain our public credit, but I think we began at the wrong end when we made special exertion to raise the price of our bonds and left the legal-tender to take care of itself. Had we devoted our energies to bringing the legal-tender to par with coin, the bond would have followed; but, unfortunately, we have found that the reverse is not the case. For myself, I confess I always feel ashamed to see our bonds quoted at a large premium, while our legal-tenders are at a heavy discount; and while there has been no little demagoguery about the bond-holding class getting their pay in coin as the law directs, I have wondered that the mass of our people so quietly endure being deprived of gold for their legal-tenders, as the law in its spirit equally guarantees.

But whether we shall succeed or shall fail in restoring to the United States notes the funding privilege with which they were originally endowed, I must here record my earnest protest against the policy of repealing the legal-tender clause which has given to these notes their great strength as a circulating medium. I cannot see how the Government can consistently deprive these notes of their legal-tender quality until it is ready to redeem them in coin on presentation;

and when it is so ready to redeem them, what need or advantage will there be in raising the question? And I have never heard any argument at all satisfactory to my mind that the repeal of the legal-tender clause would tend to make resumption easier. On the contrary, it seems to me that it would render resumption far more difficult than it will otherwise prove; that it would throw an undue share of the burden on the banks; that it would force them into the most rigid contraction and needlessly cripple their power of discount; thus plunging the whole country into confusion, disturbing credits, embarrassing payments, fatally deranging business, and creating widespread distress among the people. It would be a peculiarly severe blow to the debtor class, and would make resumption to them the signal of bankruptcy and ruin. All wise legislation toward resumption will take care that no needless burden be thrown on those who have debts to pay, and that in the transition the banks shall be kept in such a condition as will make them as helpful as possible to the business community. But this policy would drive the banks into a struggle for self-preservation in which debtors would necessarily be sacrificed.

If I correctly apprehend the sound public judgment on this question, there is no desire to destroy the legal-tender character of the note, but a settled determination to bring it to par with coin, and by this means bring every bank-note to the same standard. This policy will restore the coin of the country, of which we are producing over eighty millions per annum, to active circulation in the channels of trade, and will result not only in making our money better, but assuredly more plentiful among the people. It is a humiliating fact that, producing as we do a far larger amount of precious metal than all the rest of the world beside, we drive it into export because we will not create a demand for it at home. And the miners of the Pacific slope are furnishing the circulating medium for every country of the civilized world except their own, whose financial policy to-day outlaws and expatriates the product of their labor.

The act providing for resumption in 1879 requires, in the judgment of the Secretary of the Treasury, some additional legislation to make it practicable and effective. As it stands, it fixes a date, but gives no adequate process; and the para-

mount duty of Congress is to provide a process. And in all legislation looking to that end it must be borne in mind that unless we move in harmony with the great business interests of the country, we shall assuredly fail. Specie payment can only be brought about by wise and well-considered legislation, based on the experience of other nations, embodying the matured wisdom of the country, healthfully promoting all legitimate business, and carefully avoiding everything that may tend to create fear and distrust among the people. In other words, what we most need, as the out-growth of legislation, is confidence, public and private, general and individual. To-day we are suffering from the timidity of capital, and so long as the era of doubt and uncertainty prevails, that timidity will continue and increase. Steps toward inflation will make it chronic; unwise steps toward resumption will not remove it. We shall have discharged our full duty in Congress if we can mature a measure which will steadily advance our currency to the specie standard, and at the same time work in harmony with the reviving industries and great commercial wants of the country.

In any event, Mr. Chairman, whatever we may do, or whatever we may leave undone on this whole financial question, let us not delude ourselves with the belief that we can escape the specie standard. It rules us to-day, and has ruled us throughout the whole legal-tender period, just as absolutely as though we were paying and receiving coin daily. Our work, our fabrics, our commodities are all measured by it, and so long as we cling to irredeemable paper we have all the burdens and disadvantages of the gold standard, with none of its aids and gains and profits. "The thing which hath been is that which shall be." The great law-giver of antiquity records in the very opening of Genesis that "the gold of the land of Havilah is good." And, with another precious metal, it has maintained its rank to this day. No nation has ever succeeded in establishing any other standard of value; no nation has ever made the experiment except at great cost and sorrow; and the advocates of irredeemable money to-day are but asking us to travel the worn and weary road, traveled so many times before—a road that has always ended in disaster and often in disgrace.

In January, 1876, occurred one of the most remarkable contests ever known in the history of Congress. The debate began upon the proposition to grant a general amnesty to all the rebels against the Government who took part in the war of 1861-5. This included, of course, a pardon for Jefferson Davis, the former President of the Southern Confederacy. The Democratic House of Representatives seemed on the point of passing it, when Blaine and Garfield set themselves to defeat it. Hon. Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia, one of the ablest Southern Congressmen, undertook to advocate the measure, and meet Blaine in debate. The discussion lasted through several sittings of the House, and created an intense excitement throughout the country. Blaine was at home with that question, as he had been one of the foremost originators and advocates of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The following is the official report of Blaine's part in that hot debate :

MR. SPEAKER: I rise to a privileged question. I move to reconsider the vote which has just been declared. I propose to debate that motion, and now give notice that if the motion to reconsider is agreed to it is my intention to offer the amendment which has been read several times. I will not delay the House to have it read again.

Every time the question of amnesty has been brought before the House by a gentleman on that side for the last two Congresses, it has been done with a certain flourish of magnanimity which is an imputation on this side of the House, as though the Republican party which has been in charge of the Government for the last twelve or fourteen years, had been bigoted, narrow, and illiberal, and as though certain very worthy and deserving gentlemen in the Southern States were ground down to-day under a great tyranny and oppression, from which the hard-heartedness of this side of the House cannot possibly be prevailed upon to relieve them.

If I may anticipate as much wisdom as ought to characterize that side of the House, this may be the last time that amnesty will be discussed in the American Congress. I

therefore desire, and under the rules of the House, with no thanks to that side for the privilege, to place on record just what the Republican party has done in this matter. I wish to place it there as an imperishable record of liberality and large-mindedness, and magnanimity, and mercy far beyond any that has ever been shown before in the world's history by conqueror to conquered.

With the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Randall,) I entered this Congress in the midst of the hot flame of war, when the Union was rocking to its foundation, and no man knew whether we were to have a country or not. I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania would have been surprised when he and I were novices in the Thirty-eighth Congress, if he could have foreseen before our joint service ended we should have seen sixty-one gentlemen then in arms against us, admitted to equal privileges with ourselves, and all by the grace and magnanimity of the Republican party. When the war ended, according to the universal usage of nations, the Government, then under the exclusive control of the Republican party, had the right to determine what should be the political status of the people who had been defeated in war. Did we inaugurate any measures of persecution? Did we set forth on a career of bloodshed and vengeance? Did we take property? Did we prohibit any man all his civil rights? Did we take from him the right he enjoys to-day to vote?

Not at all. But instead of a general and sweeping condemnation the Republican party placed in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution only this exclusion; after considering the whole subject it ended it simply coming down to this:

"That no person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the

enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability."

It has been variously estimated that this section, at the time of its original insertion in the Constitution, included somewhere from fourteen to thirty thousand persons; as nearly as I can gather together the facts of the case, it included about eighteen thousand men in the South. It let go every man of the hundreds of thousands—or millions if you please—who had been engaged in the attempt to destroy this Government, and only held those under disability who in addition to revolting had violated a special and peculiar and personal oath to support the Constitution of the United States. It was limited to that.

Well, that disability was hardly placed upon the South until we began in this hall and in the other wing of the capitol, when there were more than two-thirds Republicans in both branches, to remit it, and the very first bill took that disability off from 1,578 citizens of the South; and the next bill took it off from 3,526 gentlemen—by wholesale. Many of the gentlemen on this floor came in for grace and amnesty in those two bills. After these bills, specifying individuals, had passed, and others, of smaller numbers, which I will not recount, the Congress of the United States in 1872, by two-thirds of both branches, still being two-thirds Republican, passed this general law:

"That all political disabilities imposed by the third section of the fourteenth article of amendments of the Constitution of the United States are hereby removed from all persons whomsoever, except Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judicial, military and naval service in the United States, heads of departments, and foreign ministers of the United States."

Since that act passed a very considerable number of the gentlemen which it still left under disability have been relieved specially, by name, in separate acts. But I believe, Mr. Speaker, in no single instance since the Act of May 22, 1872, have the disabilities been taken from any man except upon his respectful petition to the Congress of the United States that they should be removed. And I believe in no instance except one, have they been refused upon the peti-

tion being presented. I believe in no instance, except one, has there has been any other than a unanimous vote.

Now, I find there are widely varying opinions in regard to the number that are still under disabilities in the South.

I have had occasion, by conference with the Department of War and of the Navy, and with the assistance of some records which I have caused to be searched, to be able to state to the House, I believe with more accuracy than it has been stated hitherto, just the number of gentlemen in the South still under disabilities. Those who were officers of the United States army, educated at its own expense at West Point and who joined the rebellion, and are still included under this act, number, as nearly as the War Department can figure up, 325; those in the Navy about 295. Those under the other heads, Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judiciary service of the United States, heads of departments and foreign ministers of the United States, make up a number somewhat more difficult to state accurately, but smaller in the aggregate. The whole sum of the entire list is about—it is probably impossible to state it with entire accuracy, and I do not attempt to do that—is about 750 persons now under disabilities.

I am very frank to say that in regard to all these gentlemen, save one, I do not know of any reason why amnesty should not be granted to them as it has been to many others of the same class. I am not here to argue against it. The gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Kasson) suggests "on their application." I am coming to that. But as I have said, seeing in this list, as I have examined it with some care, no gentleman to whom I think there would be any objection, since amnesty has already become so general—and I am not going back of that question to argue it—I am in favor of granting it to them. But in the absence of this respectful form of application, which since May 22d, 1872, has become a sort of common law as preliminary to amnesty, I simply wish to put in that they shall go before a United States Court, and in open court, with uplifted hand, swear that they mean to conduct themselves as good citizens of the United States. That is all.

Now, gentlemen may say that this is a foolish exaction. Possibly it is. But somehow or other I have a prejudice in favor of it. And there are some petty points in it that appeal as well to prejudice as to conviction. For one, I do not want to impose citizenship on any gentleman. If I am correctly informed, and I state it only on rumor, there are some gentlemen in this list who have spoken contemptuously of the idea of their taking citizenship, and have spoken still more contemptuously of the idea of their applying for citizenship. I may state it wrongly, and if I do, I am willing to be corrected, but I understand that Mr. Robert Toombs has, on several occasions, at watering places both in this country and in Europe, stated that he would not ask the United States for citizenship.

Very well, we can stand it about as well as Mr. Robert Toombs can. And if Mr. Robert Toombs is not prepared to go into a court of the United States and swear that he means to be a good citizen, let him stay out. I do not think that the two Houses of Congress should convert themselves into a joint convention for the purpose of embracing Mr. Robert Toombs and gushingly request him to favor us by coming back to accept of all the honors of citizenship. That is the whole. All I ask is that each of these gentlemen shall show his good faith by coming forward and taking the oath which you on that side of the House and we on this of the House and all of us take, and gladly take. It is a very small exaction to make as a preliminary to full restoration to all the rights of citizenship.

In my amendment, Mr. Speaker, I have excepted Jefferson Davis from its operation. Now I do not place it on the ground that Mr. Davis was, as he has been commonly called, the head and front of the rebellion, because, on that ground, I do not think the exception would be tenable. Mr. Davis was just as guilty, no more so, no less so, than thousands of others who have already received the benefit and grace of amnesty. Probably he was far less efficient as an enemy of the United States; probably he was far more useful as a disturber of the councils of the Confederacy than many who have already received amnesty. It is not because of any particular and special damage that he, above others, did to the Union, or because he was personally or especially

of consequence, that I except him. But I except him on this ground: that he was the author, knowingly, deliberately, guiltily, and willfully, of the gigantic murders and crimes at Andersonville.

A MEMBER. And Libby.

MR. BLAINE. Libby pales into insignificance before Andersonville. I place it on that ground, and I believe to-day, that so rapidly does one event follow on the heels of another in the rapid age in which we live, that even those of us who were contemporaneous with what was transpiring there, and still less those who have grown up since, fail to remember the gigantic crime then committed.

Sir, since the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Randall) introduced this bill last month, I have taken occasion to reread some of the historic cruelties of the world. I have read over the details of those atrocious murders of the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries, which are always mentioned with a thrill of horror throughout Christendom. I have read the details of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, that stand out in history as one of those atrocities beyond imagination. I have read anew the horrors, untold and unimaginable, of the Spanish Inquisition. And I here before God, measuring my words, knowing their full extent and import, declare that neither the deeds of the Duke of Alva, in the Low Countries, nor the massacre of St. Bartholomew, nor the thumb-screws and engines of torture of the Spanish Inquisition begin to compare in atrocity with the hideous crime of Andersonville. [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

MR. ROBBINS, of North Carolina. That is an infamous slander.

THE SPEAKER. If such demonstrations are repeated in the galleries, the Chair will order them to be cleared.

MR. BLAINE. Thank God, Mr. Speaker, that while this Congress was under different control from that which exists here to-day, with a committee composed of both sides, and of both branches, that tale of horror was placed where it cannot be denied or gainsaid.

I hold in my hand the story written out by a Committee of Congress. I state that Winder, who is dead, was sent to Andersonville with a full knowledge of his previous

atrocities ; that these atrocities in Richmond were so fearful, so terrible, that Confederate papers, the Richmond Examiner for one, stated when he was gone that, "Thank God, Richmond is rid of his presence." We in the North knew from returning skeletons what he had accomplished at Belle Isle and Libby, and fresh from those accomplishments he was sent by Mr. Davis, against the protests of others in the Confederacy, to construct this den of horrors at Andersonville.

Now, of course it would be utterly beyond the scope of the occasion, and beyond the limits of my hour, for me to go into details. But, in arraigning Mr. Davis, I undertake here to say that I will not ask any gentleman to take the testimony of a single Union soldier. I ask them to take only the testimony of men who themselves were engaged and enlisted in the Confederate cause. And if that testimony does not entirely carry out and justify the declaration I have made, then I will state that I have been entirely in error in my reading.

After detailing the preparation of that prison, the arrangements made with hideous cruelty for the victims, the report which I hold in my hand, and which was concurred in by Democratic members as well as Republican members of Congress, states this, and I beg members to hear it, for it is far more impressive than anything I can say. After, I say, giving full details, the report states :

"The subsequent history of Andersonville has startled and shocked the world with a tale of horror, of woe, and death before unheard and unknown to civilization. No pen can describe, no painter sketch, no imagination comprehend its fearful and unutterable iniquity. It would seem as if the concentrated madness of earth and hell had found its final lodgment in the breasts of those who inaugurated the rebellion and controlled the policy of the Confederate government, and that the prison at Andersonville had been selected for the most terrible human sacrifice which the world has ever seen. Into its narrow walls were crowded thirty-five thousand enlisted men, many of them the bravest and best, the most devoted and heroic of those grand armies which carried the flag of their country to final victory. For long and weary months here they suffered, maddened, were mur-

dered, and died. Here they lingered, unsheltered from the burning rays of a tropical sun by day, and drenching and deadly dews by night, in every stage of mental and physical disease, hungered, emaciated, starving, maddened; festering with unhealed wounds; gnawed by the ravages of scurvy and gangrene; with swollen limb and distorted visage; covered with vermin which they had no power to extirpate; exposed to the flooding rains which drove them drowning from the miserable holes in which, like swine, they burrowed; parched with thirst and mad with hunger; racked with pain or prostrated with the weakness of dissolution; with naked limbs and matted hair; filthy with smoke and mud; soiled with the very excrement from which their weakness would not permit them to escape; eaten by the gnawing worms which their own wounds had engendered; with no bed but the earth; no covering save the cloud or the sky; these men, these heroes, born in the image of God, thus crouching and writhing in their terrible torture and calculating barbarity, stand forth in history as a monument of the surpassing horrors of Andersonville as it shall be seen and read in all future time, realizing in the studied torments of their prison-house the ideal of Dante's Inferno and Milton's hell."

I undertake to say, from reading the testimony, that that is a moderate description. I will read but a single paragraph from the testimony of Rev. William John Hamilton, a man I believe who never was in the North, a Catholic priest at Macon. He is a Southern man and a Democrat and a Catholic priest. And when you unite those three qualities in one man you will not find much testimony that would be strained in favor of the Republican party.

This man had gone to Andersonville on a mission of mercy to the men of his own faith, to administer to them the rites of his church in their last moments. That is why he happened to be a witness. I will read his answer under oath to a question addressed to him in regard to the bodily condition of the prisoners. He said:

"Well, as I said before, when I went there I was kept so busily engaged in giving the sacrament to the dying men that I could not observe much; but of course I could not keep my eyes closed as to what I saw there. I saw a great

many men perfectly naked ; their clothes had been taken from them, as other testimony shows, walking about the stockade perfectly nude ; they seemed to have lost all regard for delicacy, shame, morality, or anything else. I would frequently have to creep on my hands and knees into the holes that the men had burrowed in the ground, and stretch myself out alongside of them to hear their confessions. I found them almost living in vermin in those holes ; they could not be in any other condition than a filthy one, because they got no soap and no change of clothing, and were there all huddled up together."

Let me read further from the same witness another specimen :

"The first person I conversed with on entering the stockade was a countryman of mine, a member of the Catholic church, who recognized me as a clergyman. I think his name was Farrell. He was from the north of Ireland. He came toward me and introduced himself. He was quite a boy ; I do not think, judging from his appearance, that he could have been more than sixteen years old. I found him without a hat and without any covering on his feet, and without jacket or coat. He told me that his shoes had been taken from him on the battle-field. I found the boy suffering very much from a wound on his right foot ; in fact the foot was split open like an oyster ; and on inquiring the cause, they told me it was from exposure to the sun in the stockade, and not from any wound received in battle. I took off my boots and gave him a pair of socks to cover his feet, and told him I would bring him some clothing, as I expected to return to Andersonville the following week. I had to return to Macon to get another priest to take my place on Sunday. When I returned on the following week, on inquiring for this man Farrell, his companions told me he had stepped across the dead line and requested the guards to shoot him. He was not insane at the time I was conversing with him."

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to go into such horrible details as these for any purpose of arousing bad feeling. I wish only to say that the man who administered the affairs of that prison went there by order of Mr. Davis, was sustained by him ; and this William John Hamilton,

from whose testimony I have read, states here that he went to General Howell Cobb, commanding that department, and asked that intelligence as to the condition of affairs there be transmitted to the Confederate government at Richmond. For the matter of that, there are a great many proofs to show that Mr. Davis was thoroughly informed as to the condition of affairs at Andersonville.

One word more, and I shall lay aside this book. When the march of General Sherman, or some other invasion of that portion of the country, was under way, there was danger, or supposed danger, that it might come into the neighborhood of Andersonville; and the following order—to which I invite the attention of the House—a regular military order—Order No. 13, dated, headquarters Confederate States military prison, Andersonville, July 27, 1864, was issued by Brigadier-General John H. Winder:

“The officers on duty and in charge of the battery of Florida artillery at the time, will, upon receiving notice that the enemy have approached within seven miles of this post, OPEN FIRE UPON THE STOCKADE WITH GRAPE-SHOT without reference to the situation beyond these lines of defense.”

Now, here were these 35,000 poor, helpless, naked, starving, sickened, dying men. This Catholic priest states that he begged Mr. Cobb to represent that if they could not exchange those men, or could not relieve them in any other way, they should be taken to the Union lines in Florida and paroled; for they were shadows, they were skeletons. Yet it was declared by a regular order of Mr. Davis' officer that if the Union forces should come within seven miles the battery of Florida artillery should open fire with grape-shot on these poor, helpless men, without the slightest possible regard to what was going on outside.

Now I do not arraign the Southern people for this. God forbid that I should charge any people with sympathizing with such things. There were many evidences of great uneasiness among the Southern people about it; and one of the great crimes of Jefferson Davis was that besides conniving at and producing that condition of things, he concealed it from the Southern people. He labored not only to conceal

it, but to make false statements about it. We have obtained, and have now in the Congressional library, a complete series of Mr. Davis' messages—the official imprint from Richmond. I have looked over them, and I have here an extract from his message of November 7, 1864, at the very time that these horrors were at their acme. Mark you, when these horrors of which I have read specimens were at their ~~extremest~~ verge of desperation, Mr. Davis sends a message to the Confederate Congress at Richmond, in which he says :

"The solicitude of the Government for the relief of our captive fellow-citizens has known no abatement, but has on the contrary been still more deeply evoked by the additional sufferings to which they have been wantonly subjected by deprivation of adequate food, clothing, and fuel, which they were not even permitted to purchase from the prison sutler."

And he adds that the

"Enemy attempted to excuse their barbarous treatment by the unfounded allegation that it was retaliatory for like conduct on our part."

Now I undertake here to say that there is not a Confederate soldier now living, who has any credit as a man in his community, and who ever was a prisoner in the hands of the Union forces, who will say that he ever was cruelly treated ; that he ever was deprived of the same rations that the Union soldiers had—the same food and the same clothing.

MR. COOK. Thousands of them say it—thousands of them ; men of as high character as any in this House.

MR. BLAINE. I take issue upon that. There is not one who can substantiate it—not one. As for measures of retaliation, although goaded by this terrific treatment of our friends imprisoned by Mr. Davis, the Senate of the United States specifically refused to pass a resolution of retaliation, as contrary to modern civilization and the first precepts of Christianity. And there was no retaliation attempted or justified. It was refused ; and Mr. Davis knew it was refused just as well as I knew it or any other man, because what took place in Washington or what took place in Rich-

mond was known on either side of the line within a day or two thereafter.

Mr. Speaker, this is not a proposition to punish Jefferson Davis. There is nobody attempting that. I will very frankly say that I myself thought the indictment of Mr. Davis at Richmond, under the administration of Mr. Johnson, was a weak attempt, for he was indicted only for that of which he was guilty in common with all others who went into the Confederate movement. Therefore, there was no particular reason for it. But I will undertake to say this, and as it may be considered an extreme speech, I want to say it with great deliberation, that there is not a government, a civilized government, on the face of the globe—I am very sure there is not a European government—that would not have arrested Mr. Davis, and when they had him in their power would not have tried him for maltreatment of the prisoners of war and shot him within thirty days. France, Russia, England, Germany, Austria, any one of them would have done it. The poor victim Wirz deserved his death for brutal treatment, and murder of many victims, but I always thought it was a weak movement on the part of our government to allow Jefferson Davis to go at large, and hang Wirz. I confess I do. Wirz was nothing in the world but a mere subordinate, a tool, and there was no special reason for singling him out for death. I do not say he did not deserve it—he did, richly, amply, fully. He deserved no mercy, but at the same time, as I have often said, it seemed like skipping over the president, superintendent, and board of directors in the case of a great railroad accident, and hanging the brakeman of the rear car. [Laughter.]

There is no proposition here to punish Jefferson Davis. Nobody is seeking to do it. That time has gone by. The statute of limitation, common feelings of humanity, will supervene for his benefit. But what you ask us to do is to declare by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of Congress, that we consider Mr. Davis worthy to fill the highest offices in the United States if he can get a constituency to indorse him. He is a voter; he can buy and he can sell; he can go and he can come. He is as free as any man in the United States. There is a large list of subordinate offices to which he is eligible. This bill proposes, in view of

that record, that Mr. Davis, by a two-thirds vote of the Senate and a two-thirds vote of the House, be declared eligible and worthy to fill any office up to the Presidency of the United States. For one, upon full deliberation, I will not do it.

One word more, Mr. Speaker, in the way of detail, which I omitted. It has often been said in mitigation of Jefferson Davis in the Andersonville matter that the men who died there in such large numbers (I think the victims were about fifteen thousand) fell prey to an epidemic, and died of a disease which could not be averted. The record shows that out of 35,000 men about 33 per cent. died, that is, one in three, while of the soldiers encamped near by to take care and guard them, only one men in four hundred died; that is, within half a mile only one in four hundred died.

As to the general question of amnesty, Mr. Speaker, as I have already said, it is too late to debate it. It has gone by. Whether it has in all respects been wise, or whether it has been unwise, I would not detain the House here to discuss. Even if I had a strong conviction upon that question, I do not know that it would be productive of any great good to enunciate it; but, at the same time, it is a very singular spectacle that the Republican party, in possession of the entire Government, have deliberately called back into political power the leading men of the South, every one of whom turns up its bitter and relentless and malignant foe; and to-day from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, the very men who have received this amnesty are as busy as they can be in consolidating into one compact political organization the old slave States just as they were before the war. We see the banner held out blazoned again with the inscription that with the united South and a very few votes from the North this country can be governed. I want the people to understand that is precisely the movement; that that is the animus and the intent. I do not think offering amnesty to the seven hundred and fifty men who are now without it will hasten or retard that movement. I do not think the granting of amnesty to Mr. Davis will hasten or retard it, or that refusing it will do either.

I hear it said, "We will lift Mr. Davis again into great

consequence by refusing amnesty." That is not for me to consider ; I only see before me, when his name is presented, a man who by the wink of his eye, by a wave of his hand, by a nod of his head, could have stopped the atrocity at Andersonville.

Some of us had kinsmen there, most of us had friends there, all of us had countrymen there, and in the name of those kinsmen, friends, and countrymen, I here protest, and shall with my vote protest, against their calling back and crowning with the honors of full American citizenship the man who organized that murder.

Three days later, after Garfield had taken his celebrated part in the dispute, Blaine spoke again on the same topic :

MR. SPEAKER : Before proceeding with the remarks which I shall address to the questions before the House, I desire to say that in the discussion on the point of order that was raised just prior to the adjournment last evening, I did not intend to be understood and hope no gentleman understood me as implying that the honorable Speaker intended in any way to deprive me of the right to speak. I did not so understand the Speaker, nor did I understand it to be the motive or object of the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Randall). I say this much in justice to myself and in justice to the honorable incumbent of the chair.

From the tone of the debate on the opposite side of the Chamber, Mr. Speaker, one would certainly imagine that the Republican party, as represented in Congress, was trying to inflict some new punishment or add some fresh stigma to the name of Jefferson Davis, as well indeed as to lay some additional burden on those other citizens of the South who are not yet fully amnestied. It may therefore not be unprofitable just to recall to the attention of the House the precise question at issue, and how it came here, and who it was that brought it here.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania introduced a bill to confer special honor on Jefferson Davis ; for what honor can be higher than the full panoplied citizenship of the United States of America ? He has lost it by his crimes, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania proposes, in hot haste, without debate, without amendment, to drag every gentle-

man up to say "Aye" or "No" upon a bill declaring him to be entitled now and henceforth to all the rights and all the honors of American citizenship. From that we dissent. We did not bring the question here. We are not seeking to throw any fresh element of an inflammatory kind into any discussion or difference that may be between two parties or two sections, and whatever of that kind has grown from this discussion lies at the door of the gentleman from Pennsylvania and those who stand with him.

Remember, Mr. Speaker, it is no proposition to punish, but a proposition to honor; and while we disclaim any intention or desire to punish Jefferson Davis, we resist the proposition to honor him. And right here, as a preliminary matter, I desire to address myself for a moment to the constitutional point suggested by the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Seelye), who addressed the House last evening. He sees and appreciates the magnitude of the crime laid at the door of Jefferson Davis, and he clearly pointed out that neither the gentleman from New York nor the gentleman from Georgia had palliated or dared to palliate the crimes with which I charged him. But he is bothered by the scruple that because we are permitted to punish for participancy in insurrection or rebellion, we cannot make any discrimination or distinction. Why, the honorable gentleman must have forgotten that this is precisely what we have been doing ever since the disability was imposed. We first removed the disabilities from the least offensive class; then in the next list we removed those next in order of guilty participancy, and so on, until in 1872 we removed the disability from all, except the army and navy officers, members of Congress, and heads of departments. Why, Sir, are we not as much justified to-day in excepting Jefferson Davis as we were in 1872 in excepting the seven hundred and fifty of whom he constitutes one? Therefore, I beg to say to my honorable friend, whose co-operation I crave, that that point is *res adjudicata* by a hundred acts upon the statute-book. We are entirely competent to do just what is proposed in my amendment.

Now, Mr. Speaker, on the question of the treatment of our prisoners, and on the great question as to who was to blame for breaking exchange, the speech of the honorable

gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Garfield) has left me literally nothing to say. He exhausted the subject. His speech was unanswerable, and I undertake to say that as yet no gentleman has answered one fact that he alleged—no gentleman in this House can answer one fact presented by him. I shall not, therefore, at any length dwell upon that. But in connection with one point in history there is something which I should feel it my duty, not merely as a member of the Republican party which upheld the administration that conducted the war, but as a citizen of the American Union, to resist and resent, and that is, the allegations that were made in regard to the manner in which Confederate prisoners were treated in the prisons of the Union. The gentleman from Georgia says :

"I have also proved that with all the horrors you have made such a noise about as occurring at Andersonville, greater horrors occurred in the prisons where our troops were held."

And I could not but admire the "our" and the "your" with which the gentleman conducted the whole discussion. It ill comported with his later profession of Unionism. It was certainly flinging the shadow of a dead Confederacy a long way over the dial of the National House of Representatives ; and I think the gentleman from New York fell into a little of the same line. Of that I shall speak again. The gentleman from Georgia goes on to say that :

"The atrocities of Andersonville do not begin to compare with the atrocities of Elmira, of Camp Douglas, of Fort Delaware ; and of all the atrocities both of Andersonville and at Elmira the Confederate authorities stand acquitted."

MR. HILL. I certainly said no such thing. I stated distinctly that I brought no charge of crime against anybody. But I also stated distinctly that according to the gentleman's logic that result followed.

MR. BLAINE. But that is not the reported speech at all.

MR. HILL. I stated distinctly that I was following the gentleman's logic.

MR. BLAINE. I am quoting the gentleman's speech as he delivered it. I quote it as it appeared in the Daily *Chronicle* and the Associated Press report. I do not pretend to be

bound by the version which may appear hereafter, because I observe that the gentleman from New York (Mr. Cox) spoke one speech and published another [great laughter], and I suppose the gentleman from Georgia will do the same. I admit that the gentleman has a difficult *role* to play. He has to harmonize himself with the great Northern Democracy and keep himself in high line as a Democratic candidate for Senator from Georgia; and it is a very difficult thing to reconcile the two. [Laughter.] The "barn-burner Democrats" in 1853 tried very hard to adhere to their anti-slavery principles in New York and still support the Pierce administration; and Mr. Greeley, with that inimitable humor which he possessed, said that they found it a very hard road to straddle, like a militia general on parade on Broadway, who finds it an almost impossible task to follow the music and dodge the omnibuses. [Laughter.] And that is what the gentleman does. The gentleman tries to keep step to the music of the Union and dodge his fire-eating constituency in Georgia. [Great laughter.]

Then here is another quotation:

"We know our prisoners suffered in Federal hands, and we know how if we chose to tell. Thousands of our poor men came home from Fort Delaware and other places with their fingers frozen off, with their toes frozen off, with their teeth fallen out."

MR. HILL. The gentleman will allow me to answer. I said that those things were necessary incidents of the horrors of all prisons.

MR. BLAINE. But the gentleman states that that was a fact! I do not understand him to back down from that assertion?

MR. HILL. No, sir. I saw it with my own eyes.

MR. BLAINE. Now, the gentleman from the Elmira district (Mr. Walker), and I honor him for it, was not held in leash as his colleague from New York (Mr. Cox) was by party fidelity and Southern sympathy, and came out like a man and vindicated his constituents. The gentleman from Georgia makes this charge of ill treatment of Confederate prisoners at Camp Douglas.

* * * * *

Now, Mr. Speaker, I desire to call attention to the remarks

of the gentleman from New York, who, as I said, delivered one speech and published another.

MR. COX. I did not change anything in my speech or in my colloquy with you.

MR. BLAINE. The gentleman will have time to answer. I say the gentleman from New York delivered one speech and printed another.

MR. COX. Go on with your talk; you are getting used up on this side. [Laughter.]

MR. BLAINE. The gentleman from New York stated that "he had it on the authority of sixty and odd gentlemen here, many of them having been in the service of the Confederacy during the war, that no order was issued at any time in the South relative to prisoners who were taken by the South as to rations or clothing that did not apply equally to their own soldiers, and that any *ex parte* statements taken by that humbug committee on the conduct of the war, could not controvert the facts of history." The gentleman therefore stands up here as denying the atrocities of Andersonville. He seconds the gentleman from Georgia and gives the weight of whatever may be attached to his word to denying that fact. Now, the gentleman himself did not always talk so. I have here a debate that occurred on the 21st of December, 1864, in which, while the proposition was pending in the House for retaliation, the gentleman, then from Ohio, said :

"This resolution provides for inflicting upon the rebel prisoners who may be in our hands the same *inhuman, barbarous, horrible* treatment which has been inflicted upon our soldiers held as prisoners by the rebels. Now, Mr. Speaker," continued the enraged gentleman at that time, "it does not follow that because the rebels have made *brutes and fiends of themselves* that we should do likewise."

MR. COX. That is good sense.

MR. BLAINE. "There is," he says, "a certain law of retaliation in war, I know; but," continued the gentleman, "no man will stand up here and say, after due deliberation, that he would reduce these prisoners thrust into our hands into the same condition exhibited by these skeletons, these pictures, these anatomies brought to our attention and laid

upon the desks of members of Congress." Then the gentleman says: "It does not follow because our prisoners are treated in the way represented, and no doubt truthfully represented." That is what the gentleman said in 1864; but when a solemn committee of Congress, made up of honorable gentlemen of both sides of the House, bring in exactly the statements which verify all this, then the gentleman states "that the authority was a humbug committee."

MR. COX rose.

MR. BLAINE. Wait, you will have plenty of time.

MR. COX. I did not get up to interrupt the gentleman.

MR. BLAINE. Now the gentleman takes his side among the great defenders of Andersonville, and states there has been nothing made out against Andersonville except upon *ex parte* statements.

Now, Mr. Speaker, while I do not wish to be interrupted, I would like by a nod, if the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Hill) will be good enough to tell me—for he is a well-practiced lawyer and I am not one at all; and when witnesses are in doubt they are allowed time to reflect and refresh their memory—I ask him to tell me after reflection whether he recollects having introduced this resolution into the Confederate Senate.

MR. HILL. Which?

MR. BLAINE. The following:

Senator Hill, of Georgia, introduced the following resolution in the Confederate Congress in October, 1862: "That every person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States, who shall be captured on the soil of the Confederate States after the first day of January, 1863, shall be presumed to have entered the territory of the Confederate States with intent to incite insurrection and to abet murder; and unless satisfactory proof be adduced to the contrary before the military court before which the trial shall be had, he shall suffer death. And this section shall continue in force until the proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln, dated Washington, September 22, 1862, shall be rescinded."

Did the gentleman introduce that resolution?

MR. HILL. Do you want an answer?

MR. BLAINE. Yes.

MR. HILL. I will say this: I state precisely and frankly, as I stated to the gentleman day before yesterday, that I do not recollect being the author of that resolution. I have no doubt the resolution was introduced, and I will state this: that at the time there was a belief in the Confederacy—

MR. BLAINE. I did not yield for a speech I only wanted to know that. * * *

Mr. Speaker, what does this mean? What did the gentleman from Georgia mean when, from the committee on judiciary, he introduced the following:

2. "Every white person who shall act as a commissioned or non-commissioned officer, commanding negroes or mulattoes against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, organize, train, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service, or aid them in any military enterprise against the Confederate States shall, if captured, suffer death."

3. "Every commissioned or non-commissioned officer of the enemy who shall incite slaves to rebellion, or pretend to give them freedom, under the aforementioned act of Congress, and proclamation, by abducting or causing them to be abducted, or inducing them to abscond, shall, if captured, suffer death."

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have searched somewhat, but in vain, for anything in the world that rivals this. I did find, and have here in my minutes, the proclamation of Valmaseda, the Captain-General of Cuba, who was recalled by Spain because of his atrocious cruelties to the inhabitants of that island; and the worst thing in all the atrocities laid to his charge was that he proclaimed "that every man or boy, over fifteen years, found away from his house, not being able to give a satisfactory reason therefor, should suffer death." He copied it from the resolution of the gentleman from Georgia.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I hold in my hand a copy of the Atlanta Constitution, printed on the 24th of January, 1875. We are told that all these allegations against Jefferson Davis should be forgiven, because they are all of the dead past.

We are told that we should not revive them, that there should be nothing in the world brought up in any way to disturb the beautiful serenity of the centennial year, and



RESIDENCE OF HON. JAMES G. BLAINE, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

that to make any allusion to them whatever is to do an unwelcome and unpatriotic act. The very last declaration we have from Jefferson Davis authentically, in the life which the gentleman from Georgia held the other day as a text book, reads thus :

“Time will show, however, the amount of truth in the prophecy of Jefferson Davis—”

Says the biographer, made in reply to the remark that the cause of the Confederacy was lost. Mr. Davis said :

“It appears so, but the principle for which we contended is bound to reassert itself, though it may be at another time and in another form.”

Now, I have here, of the date of January 24th, 1875, a speech by Hon. B. H. Hill, in the Atlanta Constitution, and it is said to have been the “grandest speech” he ever delivered.

MR. HILL. Oh, that is a mistake.

MR. BLAINE. The gentleman says it is a mistake. I know he has delivered some very grand speeches, but the editor characterizes this as the grandest of them all. I quote from him :

“Fellow-citizens, I look to the contest of 1876 not only as the most important that ever occurred in American history, but as the most important in the history of the world; for if the people of the country cannot be aroused to give an overwhelming vote against this Republican party it will perpetuate itself in power in the United States by precisely the same means that the President has taken in Louisiana, and the people will be powerless to prevent it, *except they go to war.* [Applause.] If we fail with the ballot-box in 1876, by reason of force, a startling question will present itself to the American people. I trust we will not fail. I hope the Northern people have had a sufficient subsidence of passion to see this question fairly.”

Then the gentleman goes on to say—

“If we must have war—”

why his voice is always for war.

MR. HILL. Never, never!

MR. BLAINE. The gentleman says:

"If we must have war; if we cannot preserve this Constitution and constitutional government by the ballot; if force is to defeat the ballot; if the war must come—God forbid that it should come—but if it must come; if folly, if wickedness, if inordinate love of power shall decree that America must save her Constitution by blood, let it come; I am ready." [Laughter.]

MR. HILL. Will the gentleman allow me one word?

MR. BLAINE. Not now. There will be plenty of time. And then the gentleman said in another speech, May 12:

"He impressed upon the colored men of the country the truth that, if the folly and wickedness were consummated in war, they would be the greatest sufferers. If peace was preserved they were safe, but as sure as one war had freed them, just as sure another war would re-enslave them."

Now that was precisely the kind of talk we had here by folios and reams before the rebellion. Oh, yes; you were for war then. The gentleman in his speech says that the Union now is an unmixed blessing, providing the Democratic party can rule it; but that if the Republican party must rule it, he is for war. Why, that is just what Jefferson Davis said in 1861.

I have here very much more of the same kind. I have been supplied with very abundant literature emanating from the gentleman, more, indeed, than I have had time to read. He seems to have been as voluminous as the Spanish Chroniclers. In one speech he says:

"I must say a word about this list of disabilities removed. I would rather see my name recorded in the Georgia penitentiary than to find it on the list of removal of disabilities. Why, my friends, do you not know that when you go to that Congress and ask for a removal of disabilities you admit that you are a traitor?"

MR. HILL. What do you read from?

MR. BLAINE. From a report in the Cincinnati Gazette, giving an account of a great meeting in 1868, at which Howell Cobb, Robert Toombs, and the Hon. B. H. Hill made speeches. And there the gentleman declared that he

would rather have his name on the list of the Georgia penitentiary than on the list of the removals of disabilities.

Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to stir up more needless ill blood, but the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Garfield) yesterday, apparently without much thought, spoke of a class of men in the Southern States who had committed perjury, and I would like to address the gentleman a question that he can answer when he gets the floor.

MR. HILL. Will you not allow me to answer it now?

MR. BLAINE. No, sir; not now. Suppose you inaugurate a great war if the Republican party retains power, and you and all these gentlemen who sympathize with you upon this floor, and who had taken an oath to bear true allegiance to the Government of the United States, and that you took that oath without mental reservation, then revolt against the country; what would that be? Would it have any relation to perjury?

But, Mr. Speaker, you see the effect of the speeches of the gentleman from Georgia. They are very tremendous down there. The very earth quakes under him. One of his organs says:

"We assert without fear of contradiction that Mr. Hill in his bitter denunciation of scallawags and carpet-baggers has deterred thousands of them from entering the ranks of the Radical party. They dare not do so for fear of social ostracism, and to-day the white population of Georgia are unanimous in favor of the Democratic party."

And when he can get the rest of the States to the same standard he is for war.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman cannot, by withholding his speech here and revising it and adapting it to the Northern Democracy, erase his speeches in Georgia. I have quoted from them. I have quoted from Democratic papers. There is no accusation that there is any perversion in Republican papers or that he was misrepresented. But the gentleman deliberately states that in a certain contingency of the Republican party having power he is for war; and I undertake here to say that, in all the mad, hot wrath in the Thirty-sixth Congress that precipitated the revolt in this country, there is not one speech to be found that

breathes a more determined rebellion against lawful authority or a guiltier readiness to resist it than the speech of the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. Speaker: I have not much time left. I said briefly in my first speech that God forbid I should lay at the door of the Southern people, as a people, these atrocities. I repeat it. I lay no such charge at their door. Sir, I have read in this "*ex parte humbug report*" that there were deep movements among the Southern people about these atrocities; that there was a profound sensibility. I know that the leading officers of the Confederacy protested against them; I know that many of the subordinate officers protested against them. I know that an honorable gentleman from North Carolina, now representing his State in the other end of the Capitol, protested against them. But I have searched the records in vain to find that the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Hill) protested against them. They were known to the Confederate Congress; they were known at the doorway of your Senate and along the corridors of your Capitol. The honorable and venerable gentleman in my eye at this moment, who served in the Confederate Congress, and who had before servyed in the Senate of the United States, himself brought them to the attention of the Confederate Congress, and I class him with great gladness among those whose humanity was never quenched by the fires of the rebellion. I allude to Hon. Henry S. Foote.

My time is running and I have very little left. I confess—and I say it to the gentleman from Georgia, with no personal unkindness—I confess that my very blood boiled, if there was anything of tradition, of memory, of feeling, it boiled when I heard the gentleman, with his record, which I have read, seconded and sustained by the gentleman from New York, arraigning the administration of Abraham Lincoln, throwing obloquy and slander upon the grave of Edwin M. Stanton, and demanding that Jefferson Davis should be restored to full citizenship in this country. Ah! That is a novel spectacle; the gentleman from Georgia does not know how novel; the gentleman from New York ought to know. The gentleman from Georgia does not know and he cannot know how many hundred thousands of Northern bosoms were lacerated by his course.

MR. HILL. I never said it, Mr. Blaine; you are mistaken.

MR. BLAINE. Oh, no; you accused the administration of Mr. Lincoln with breaking the cartel and violating the honor of the Government, and a thousand other things; the speech as published in the papers shows it. And as soon as he made it the gentleman from New York run to him in hot haste to congratulate him, sympathizing, I suppose, with the assault.

MR. HILL. Upon that subject I read nothing but published letters and documents, and of Northern origin at that.

MR. BLAINE. I repeat, that proposition strikes—I might say almost terror into Northern hearts; that here, in an American Congress, the gentleman who offered that resolution in the Confederate Congress, who in his campaign for a seat in this House comes here breathing threatenings and slaughter, who comes here telling you that in a certain contingency he means war, advising his people to be ready for it—that gentleman, profaning the very altar of patriotic liberty with the speech that sends him here, arraigning the Administration that conducted the war and saved the Union—that gentleman asks us to join with him in paying the last full measure of honor that an American Congress can pay to the arch enemy of the Union, the arch fiend of the rebellion.

Suppose Jefferson Davis is not pardoned; suppose he is not amnestied. Oh! you cannot have a centennial year without that! No man on this side has ever intimated that Jefferson Davis should be refused pardon on account of any political crimes; it is too late for that; it is because of a personal crime.

If you ask that there may be harmonious and universal rejoicing over every forgiven man, release all your criminals; set free every man who has been sentenced for piracy or for murder by your United States courts; proclaim the jubilee indeed.

MR. HEREFORD. And the whisky convicts!

MR. BLAINE. Mr. Speaker, that reminds me of one thing which in the haste and pressure of my hour I might have forgotten. The gentleman from Georgia aimed to be

very humorous about General Grant, and said that the logic which I had presented the other day in regard to Jefferson Davis made General Grant responsible for McDonald and Joyce. The gentleman might have thought that he was witty, but I could not see it.

MR. HILL. I know you could not.

MR. BLAINE. It was not so witty as the remarks of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Cox). It was more grim. If Jefferson Davis, the moment the crimes of Andersonville had been brought to his attention, had arraigned the offenders with all competent authority, and had issued an order that "no guilty man should escape," there would be some little consistency in the gentleman's position. It was therefore ill-conceived levity, and in very bad taste, for the gentleman to introduce General Grant's name in that connection.

But I am authorized, if the gentleman desires it—not authorized especially to mention it here, but I mention it on the authority of General Grant, whom the gentleman from Georgia impugned in connection with the exchanged prisoners—

MR. HILL. No, sir.

MR. BLAINE. To say that one thing touching the exchange of prisoners was that the Davis government observed no honor in regard to it; and General Grant states that the brigade of Carter L. Stephenson, that was dislodged at Chattanooga, was made up of paroled prisoners from Vicksburg, and that Stephenson himself was one of them. He states that the paroled prisoners of one day in front of his line were taken the next. But in stating this he was careful to say that, as to Lee and the two Johnstons and Pemberton, and the other leading Confederate generals, their word was honor itself; but that for the Davis executive government there was no honor in it—none whatever. The gentleman has got enough of General Grant by this time, I hope.

Now in regard to the relative number of prisoners that died in the North and the South respectively, the gentleman undertook to show that a great many more prisoners died in the hands of the Union authorities than in the hands of the rebels. I have had conversations with surgeons of the

army about that, and they say that there were a large number of deaths of rebel prisoners, but that during the latter period of the war they came into our hands very much exhausted, ill-clad, ill-fed, diseased so that they died in our prisons of diseases that they brought with them. And one eminent surgeon said; without wishing at all to be quoted in this debate, that the question was not only what was the condition of the prisoners when they came to us, but what it was when they were sent back. Our men were taken in full health and strength ; they came back wasted and worn —mere skeletons. The rebel prisoners, in large numbers, were, when taken, emaciated and reduced ; and General Grant says that at the time such superhuman efforts were made for exchange there were 90,000 men that would have re-enforced your armies the next day, prisoners in our hands, who were in good health and ready for fight. This consideration sheds a great deal of light on what the gentleman said.

The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Hurlbut) puts a letter into my hands. I read it without really knowing what it may show :

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,
WAR DEPARTMENT,

Richmond, Virginia, March 21, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR : If the exigencies of our army require the use of trains for the transportation of corn, pay no regard to the Yankee prisoners. I would rather that they should starve than our own people suffer.

I suppose I can safely put it in writing : "Let them suffer." The words are memorable, and it is fortunate that in this case they can be applied properly and without the intervention of a lying quartermaster.

Very truly your faithful friend,
ROBERT OULD.

COLONEL A. C. MYERS.

That is a good piece of literature in this connection. Mr. Ould, I believe, was the rebel commissioner to exchange. When the gentleman from Georgia next takes the floor I want him to state what excuse there was for ordering the

Florida artillery, in case General Sherman's army got within seven miles of Andersonville, to fire on that stockade.

MR. HILL. That was just to keep your army from coming. That is all.

MR. BLAINE. Upon this point letters have flowed in upon me—letters which without pretending to any extraordinary tenderness, I say in this presence I could not read without unbecoming emotion.

MR. HILL. Will the gentleman allow me to say—

MR. BLAINE. I have a letter which states that at Andersonville they had stakes put up with flags in order that the line of fire might be properly directed from the battery of Florida artillery.

MR. HILL. Oh, that is not so.

MR. BLAINE. There is that order.

MR. HILL. That is said to be a forgery. I do not know whether it is genuine or not. You have the records; we have not; you will not let us see them. You merely say what they are. Let us see the whole of them.

MR. BLAINE. Let us take one single case. I suppose the gentleman would deny that they ever used bloodhounds at Andersonville.

MR. HILL. Oh, no; though I do not myself know the fact.

MR. BLAINE. Did the gentleman ever hear of Colonel James H. Fannin, of the first Georgia reserves, who was on duty at Andersonville?

MR. HILL. Oh, yes.

MR. BLAINE. He says "that Surgeon Turner, the owner of the dogs, belonged to the first regiment of reserves of my company." Then he goes on to tell how the dogs were obtained and how used; and here is one of the returns made by Wirz:

"Twenty-five more men escaped during the month, but they were taken by the dogs before the daily returns were made out."

The gentleman is a very able lawyer—

MR. JONES of Kentucky. Has not the time of the gentleman from Maine expired?

THE SPEAKER, *pro tempore* (Mr. Hoskins in the chair). The time of the gentleman from Maine has not expired.

MR. HANCOCK. He commenced ten minutes before one o'clock.

MR. JONES of Kentucky. I ask that the fifty-seventh rule of the House be read. I should like to have it read, because the gentleman from Maine is constantly violating the rules of this House.

MR. BLAINE. In what respect?

THE SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Kentucky is out of order.

MR. JONES of Kentucky. I rise to a point of order.

MR. BLAINE. I hope it will not be taken out of my time.

THE SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Speaker of the House set the dial exactly at the time the gentleman from Maine commenced his speech, showing exactly when his hour will expire, and the present occupant of the chair when that time is reached, will notify the House.

MR. BLAINE. How much time have I left?

THE SPEAKER *pro tempore*. About two minutes.

MR. BLAINE. The gentleman is inconsistent. I should like to get him to admit something. He does not deny that bloodhounds were used at Andersonville.

Mr. HILL. I understood they were—I do not know, farm dogs, not bloodhounds.

MR. BLAINE. Here are four or five Georgia witnesses. I conclude in the two minutes left me by saying that in all the evidence I have adduced I have never asked to bring one piece of Union testimony; the whole of it is from Confederate prisoners.

Why, Mr. Speaker, the Administration of Martin Van Buren, that went down in a popular convulsion in 1840, had no little of obloquy thrown upon it because it had ventured to hunt the Seminoles in the swamps of Florida with bloodhounds.

A MEMBER. No bloodhounds there.

MR. BLAINE. Blood-thirsty dogs were sent after the hiding savages, and the civilization of the nineteenth century and the Christian feeling of the American people revolted at it. And I state here, and the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Hill) cannot deny it, that upon the testimony of witnesses as numerous as would require me all day to

read, bloodhounds were used ; that large packs of them were kept, and Georgia officers commanded them ; that they were sent after the poor unfortunate, shrinking men who by any accident could get out of that horrible stockade. I state, Sir, that the civilization of the world stands aghast at what was done at Andersonville. And the man who did that was sustained by Jefferson Davis, and promoted. Yet the gentleman says that was analogous of General Grant sending McDonald to the penitentiary.

Mr. Speaker, in view of all these facts I have only to say that if the American Congress, by a two-thirds vote, shall pronounce Jefferson Davis worthy to be restored to the full rights of American citizenship, I can only vote against it and hang my head in silence and regret it. [Applause.]

The amnesty was not granted, and Blaine and Garfield were most sincerely hated by their Democratic opponents. Blaine became the target for every kind of political and partisan weapon. His opponents in debate, so often defeated, became bitter and dangerous private enemies.

They sought in every channel for some excuse for assailing his private character. They scrutinized with malignant intentions every act of his life from boyhood. They sought for everything he had said and tried to wrench it into their service. As the day drew near when it seemed apparent that Blaine would be nominated as the candidate of his party for President, their activity and malice increased in an astonishing ratio. Their anxiety to find something against him was so great that it was a practical bribe to any one who could furnish or manufacture evidence against him. At such a time irresponsible men could be found to set afloat rumors and to magnify or misrepresent them after they were started.

The Democrats desired in some way to cast a cloud over his reputation by some charge which should be under inves-

tigation when the Republican Convention should meet and thus satisfy their spite and defeat the nomination of their most popular opponent. It became known that Blaine had invested some money in railroad bonds. This was true and the money was saved from his earnings by great economy and care. It was an investment any man had the right to make, but in which Blaine had the misfortune to be a considerable loser.

But his Democratic opponents seized upon this fact and set afloat many damaging rumors and began to talk of an investigation, when Blaine most shrewdly defeated their scheme by meeting the matter openly in the House of Representatives, April 24th, 1876. According to the Congressional Record these were his remarks and they explain themselves :

MR. BLAINE. Mr. Speaker, with the leave of the House so kindly granted, I shall proceed to submit certain facts and correct certain errors personal to myself. The dates of the correspondence embraced in my statement will show that it was impossible for me to make it earlier. I shall be as brief as the circumstances will permit. For some months past a charge against me has been circulating in private and was recently made public—designed to show that I had in some indirect manner received the large sum of \$64,000 from the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871—for what services or for what purpose has never been stated. The alleged proof of this serious accusation was based, according to the original story, upon the authority of E. H. Rollins, treasurer of the Union Pacific Company, who it was averred had full knowledge that I got the money, and also upon the authority of Morton, Bliss & Co., bankers of New York, through whom the draft for \$64,000 was said to have been negotiated for my benefit as they confidentially knew. Hearing of this charge some weeks in advance of its publication, I procured the following statements from the two principal witnesses who were quoted as having such definite knowledge against me :

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY,

Boston, March 31, 1876.

DEAR SIR: In response to your inquiry, I beg leave to state that I have been treasurer of the Union Pacific Railroad Company since April 8, 1871, and have necessarily known of all disbursements made since that date. During that entire period, up to the present time, I am sure that no money has been paid in any way or to any person by the company in which you were interested in any manner whatever.

I make this statement in justice to the company, to you, and to myself.

Very respectfully yours,
HON. JAMES G. BLAINE.

NEW YORK, April 6, 1876.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your inquiry, we beg to say that no draft, note, or check, or other evidence of value, has ever passed through our books in which you were known or supposed to have any interest of any kind, direct or indirect.

We remain, very respectfully, your obedient servants,
MORTON, BLISS & CO.
HON. JAMES G. BLAINE, Washington, D. C.

Some persons on reading the letter of Morton, Bliss & Co., said that its denial seemed to be confined to any payment that had passed through their "books," whereas they might have paid a draft in which I was interested and yet no entry of it made on their "books." On this criticism being made known to the firm, they at once addressed me the following letter:

NEW YORK, April 13, 1876.

DEAR SIR: It has been suggested to us that our letter of the 6th instant was not sufficiently inclusive or exclusive. In that letter we stated "that no draft, note, or check, or other evidence of value has ever passed through our books in which you were known or supposed to have any interest, direct or indirect." It may be proper for us to add that nothing has been paid by us, in any form or at any time, to

any person or any corporation, in which you were known, believed, or supposed to have any interest whatever.

We remain, very respectfully, your obedient servants,
MORTON, BLISS & CO.

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE, Washington, D. C.

The two witnesses quoted for the original charge having thus effectually disposed of it, the charge itself re-appeared in another form to this effect, namely: That a certain draft was negotiated at the house of Morton, Bliss & Co., in 1871, through Thomas A. Scott, then President of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, for the sum of \$64,000, and that \$75,000 of the bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company were pledged as collateral; that the Union Pacific Company paid the draft and took up the collateral; that the cash proceeds of it went to me, and that I had furnished, or sold, or in some way conveyed or transferred to Thomas A. Scott these Little Rock and Fort Smith bonds which had been used as collateral; that the bonds in reality had belonged to me or some friend or constituent of mine for whom I was acting. I endeavor to state the charge in its boldest form and in all its phases.

I desire here and now to declare that all and every part of this story that connects my name with it is absolutely untrue, without one particle of foundation in fact and without a tittle of evidence to substantiate it. I never had any transaction of any kind with Thomas A. Scott concerning bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Road or the bonds of any other railroad, or any business in any way connected with railroads, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely. I never had any business transaction whatever with the Union Pacific Railroad Company or any of its officers or agents or representatives, and never in any manner received from that company, directly or indirectly, a single dollar in money, or stocks, or bonds, or any other form of value. And as to the particular transaction referred to, I never so much as heard of it until nearly two years after its alleged occurrence, when it was talked of at the time of the Credit Mobilier investigation in 1873. But, while my denial ought to be conclusive, I should greatly regret to be compelled to leave the matter there. I am

fortunately able to sustain my own declaration by the most conclusive evidence that the case admits of, or that human testimony can supply. If any person or persons know the truth or falsity of these charges it must be the officers of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. I accordingly addressed a note to the president of that company, a gentleman who has been a director of the company from its organization I believe, and who has a more thorough acquaintance with its business transactions probably than any other man. The correspondence which I here submit will explain itself and leaves nothing to be said. I will read the letters in their proper order. They need no comment:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 13, 1876.

DEAR SIR: You have doubtless observed the scandal now in circulation in regard to my having been interested in certain bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Road, alleged to have been purchased by your company in 1871.

It is due to me, I think, that some statement in regard to the subject should be made by yourself as the official head of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

Very respectfully,

J. G. BLAINE.

SIDNEY DILLON, Esq.,
President Union Pacific Railroad Company.

OFFICE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY,
NEW YORK, April 15, 1876.

DEAR SIR: I have your favor of the 13th instant, and in reply desire to say that I have this day written Colonel Thomas A. Scott, who was president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company at the time of the transaction referred to, a letter of which I send a copy herewith. On receipt of his reply I will enclose it to you.

Very respectfully,

SIDNEY DILLON, President.

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE,
Washington, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY,
New York, April 15, 1876.

DEAR SIR: The press of the country are making allegations that certain bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, purchased by the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871, were obtained from Hon. James G. Blaine of Maine, or that the avails in some form went to his benefit, and that the knowledge of these facts rests with the officers of the company and with yourself.

These statements are injurious both to Mr. Blaine and to the Union Pacific Railroad Company. There were never any facts to warrant them, and I think that a statement to the public is due both from you and myself. I desire, as president of the company, to repel any such inference in the most emphatic manner, and would be glad to hear from you on the subject.

Very respectfully, SIDNEY DILLON, Pres.
COL. THOMAS A. SCOTT,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

OFFICE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY,
New York, April 22, 1876.

DEAR SIR: As I advised you some days ago, I wrote Colonel Thomas A. Scott, and beg leave to inclose you his reply.

I desire further to say that I was a director of the company and a member of the executive committee in 1871, and to add my testimony to that of Colonel Scott's, in verification of all that he has stated in the enclosed letter.

Truly yours,
SIDNEY DILLON, President.
HON. JAMES G. BLAINE,
Washington, D. C.

PHILADELPHIA, April 21, 1876.

MY DEAR SIR: I have your letter, under date New York, April 15, 1876, stating that the press of the country are making allegations that certain bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, purchased by the Union Pacific

Railroad Company in 1871, were obtained from Hon. J. G. Blaine of Maine, or that the avails in some form went to his benefit ; that there never were any facts to warrant them ; that it is your desire as president of the company to repel any such inference in the most emphatic manner ; and asking me to make a statement in regard to the matter.

In reply, I beg leave to say that, much as I dislike the idea of entering into any of the controversies that are before the public in these days of scandal, from which but few men in public life seem to be exempt, I feel it my duty to state :

That the Little Rock and Fort Smith bonds purchased by the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871, were not purchased or received from Mr. Blaine, directly or indirectly, and that of the money paid by the Union Pacific Railroad Company, or of the avails of said bonds, not one dollar went to Mr. Blaine, or to any person for him, or for his benefit in any form.

All statements to the effect that Mr. Blaine ever had any transaction with me directly or indirectly involving money or valuables of any kind, are absolutely without foundation in fact.

I take pleasure in making this statement to you, and you may use it in any manner you deem best for the interest of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

Very truly yours,

THOMAS A. SCOTT.

SIDNEY DILLON, Esq.,

President Union Pacific Railroad Company, New York.

And this closes the testimony I have wished to offer.

Several newspapers—some of them, doubtless, from friendly motives—have urged that I should ask for a committee to investigate these charges. I might have done that and awaited the delay and slow progress that inevitably attend all congressional investigations. Three and a half years ago I moved a committee to investigate the Credit Mobilier charges, and though every particle of proof, in complete exculpation of myself, was before the committee in thirty-six hours after its first meeting, I was compelled to wait for more than two months, indeed seventy full days,

before I got a public report exonerating and vindicating me from the charges. If I had asked for a committee to investigate the pending matter, I should have been compelled to wait its necessarily slow action with the charge all the while hanging over me, undenied and unanswered; and, pending the proceedings of an investigation which I had myself asked, propriety would have forbidden my collecting and publishing the decisive proofs which I have now submitted. For these reasons I have deemed that the shortest and most expeditious mode of vindication was the one which I was bound to choose by every consideration of myself personally and of my official relations. I have not omitted the testimony of a single material witness to the transaction on which the accusation against me is based, and unless I misapprehend the scope and force of the testimony it leaves no charge against me. In any and all events, I am ready to submit the whole matter to the candid judgment of the House and the country, and, if the House thinks the matter should be further inquired into, I beg to express my entire readiness to give all the assistance in my power to make the investigation as thorough, as rigid, and as impartial as possible.

To give a seeming corroboration or foundation to the story which I have disproved, the absurd rumor has lately appeared in certain newspapers that I was the owner of from \$150,000 to \$250,000 of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad bonds, which I received without consideration, and that it was from these bonds that Thomas A. Scott received his \$75,000. The statement is gratuitously and utterly false. No responsible author appears anywhere for this unfounded story, but in dismissing it I desire to make the following explicit statement: More than twenty-three years ago, in the closing days of Mr. Fillmore's administration, the Government granted to the State of Arkansas some public lands within its own limits to be applied to the construction of railroads in that State. The Legislature of Arkansas incorporated the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company the same year, and gave to the company a portion of the lands it had received from the General Government to aid in the construction of the road—about five thousand acres to the mile, I think. But the company

were unable to raise any money for the enterprise, though they made the most strenuous efforts, and when the war broke out in 1861—eight years after the State had given the lands to the company—not a mile of the road was built. Of course nothing was done during the war.

After the war all the grants of land previously made to the Southern States were renewed in gross in the session of 1865-'66. The Little Rock and Fort Smith Company again received a grant from the State and again tried to raise money to build their road; but 1865, 1866, and 1867 passed without their getting a dollar. Finally toward the close of 1868 a company of Boston gentlemen, representing considerable capital, undertook its construction. In raising the requisite means they placed the bonds of the road on the New England market in the summer of 1869, offering them on terms which seemed very favorable to the purchaser, and offering them at a time when investments of this kind were fatally popular. In common with hundreds of other people in New England and other parts of the country, I bought some of these bonds—not a very large amount—paying for them at precisely the same rate that others paid. I never heard and do not believe that the Little Rock Company which I know is controlled by highly honorable men ever parted with a bond to any person except at the regular price fixed for their sale. The enterprise, though apparently very promising, proved unsuccessful, as so many similar projects did about the same time. I lost a considerable sum of money (over \$20,000) by my investment, and I presume New England made a net loss of \$2,000,000 in completing that road for Arkansas, as she has lost over one hundred millions by similar ventures West and South, within the last twelve years. In addition to my investment in the bonds, I united with others in raising some money for the company when it met its first financial troubles. Proceedings are now pending in the United States circuit court in Arkansas, to which I am a party of record, for the reimbursement of the money so advanced. All the bonds which I ever purchased I continued to hold; and when the company was reorganized, in 1874, I exchanged them for stock and bonds in the new concern, which I still own. My whole connection with the road has

been open as the day. If there had been anything to conceal about it I should never have touched it. Wherever concealment is desirable avoidance is advisable, and I do not know any better test to apply to the honor and fairness of a business transaction.

As to the question of propriety involved in a member of Congress holding an investment of this kind, it must be remembered that the lands were granted to the State of Arkansas, and not to the railroad company, and that the company derived its life, franchise, and value wholly from the State. And to the State the company is amenable and answerable, and not in any sense to Congress. Since I purchased the bonds but one act of Congress has passed in any way touching the subject, and that was merely to rectify a previous mistake in legislation. I take it when any security from Government bonds to town scrip is offered at public sale to any one who can pay for it, every American citizen is free to buy. If you exclude a Representative from the investment on the ground that in some secondary or remote way the legislation of Congress has affected or may affect the value of the article, then you exclude every man on this floor, not only from holding a Government bond or a share in a national bank, but also from owning a flock of sheep, or a field of hemp, or a tobacco plantation, or a cotton mill, or an iron-furnace ; for all these interests are vitally affected by the tariff legislation on which we vote at every session and of which an important measure is even now pending in the Committee of the Whole. In the seven intervening years since the Little Rock and Fort Smith bonds were placed on the market, I know few investments that have not been more affected by the legislation of Congress. But this case does not require to be shielded by any such comparisons or citations, for I repeat that the Little Rock road derived all it had from the State of Arkansas, and not from Congress. It was in the discretion of Congress to give or withhold from the State, but it was solely in the discretion of the State to give or withhold from the Little Rock Railroad Company.

When the Little Rock road fell into the financial troubles of which I have spoken, there were certain interests connected with it that were under peculiarly pressing embar-

rassment and that needed relief. There had been at different times very considerable talk about inducing the Atlantic and Pacific road—which on its southern branch was to be a connecting line east and west with the Little Rock and Fort Smith, and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas road, which would be a connecting line both North and South at the point of junction—to aid the Little Rock and Fort Smith enterprise by taking some of its securities, a practice very common among connecting roads. To both these roads the completion of the Little Rock road was of very great importance. Accordingly, in the spring of 1871, when only one coupon had been passed by the Little Rock Company on one series of its bonds and none passed on the other, and when there was sanguine hope of getting the enterprise on its feet again, the Atlantic and Pacific Company took one hundred thousand of its bonds and one hundred thousand of its stock for the gross sum of \$79,000; and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, if I remember correctly, took half the amount at the same rate. This was done not for the corporation itself, but for an interest largely engaged in the construction of the road. With the circumstances attending the negotiation with the Atlantic and Pacific road I was entirely familiar, and with several of its officers I have long been well acquainted. I also knew all about the negotiation with the Missouri, Kansas and Texas road, though I never to my knowledge saw any of its officers and never had an interview with any of them on any subject. But in the case of both roads I desire to say that the bonds sold to them did not belong to me, nor did I have one dollar's pecuniary interest in the whole transaction with either company.

The infamous insinuation made in certain quarters that I engaged to use my influence in Congress for the Atlantic and Pacific road and also for the Missouri, Kansas and Texas in consideration of their purchasing these securities, hardly merits notice. The officers and directors of both companies, so far as I have known the one and heard of the other, are high-minded, honorable gentlemen, and they would have justly spurned me from their presence had I been willing to submit an offer so dishonorable and mutually degrading. I had no pecuniary stake in the negotiation and I

should have loved infamy for infamy's sake, had I bartered my personal and official honor in the transaction. And I am sure that every man connected with either company would repel the dishonoring suggestion as warmly as I do myself. The whole affair had no more connection with congressional legislation than any one of the ten thousand similar transactions that are constantly occurring in the business world.

Of a like character with the insinuation just answered is that which, in an irresponsible and anonymous way, attempts to connect the ownership of Little Rock and Fort Smith bonds with the legislation of last winter respecting the State government of Arkansas. There are some accusations which it is difficult to repel with sufficient force because of their mixture of absurdity, depravity, and falsehood. I never heard this stupid slander until within a few days, and I venture to say there is not a responsible man in the country of the slightest sense who can discern the remotest connection between the two things that are alleged to have an intimate and infamous relation.

Let me now, Mr. Speaker, briefly summarize what I have presented.

First, that the story of my receiving \$64,000 or any other sum of money or other thing of value from the Union Pacific Railroad Company, directly or indirectly, or in any form, for myself or for another, is absolutely disproved by the most conclusive testimony.

Second, that no bond of mine was ever sold to the Atlantic and Pacific or the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad Company, and that not a single dollar of money from either of those companies ever went to my profit or benefit.

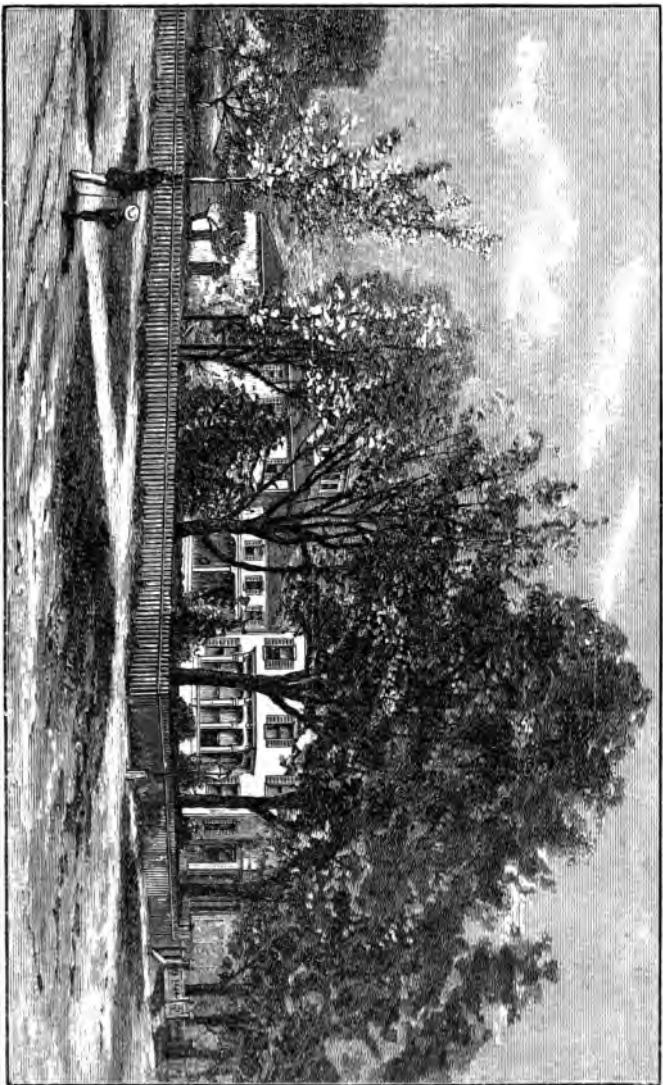
Third, that instead of receiving bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith road as a gratuity, I never had one except at the regular market price, and that instead of making a large fortune out of that company, I have incurred a severe pecuniary loss from my investment in its securities which I still retain. And out of such affairs as this grows the popular gossip of large fortunes amassed in Congress!

I can hardly expect, Mr. Speaker, that any statement from me will stop the work of those who have so industriously circulated these calumnies. For months past the effort has been energetic and continuous to spread these

stories in private circles. Emissaries of slander have visited the editorial-rooms of leading Republican papers from Boston to Omaha, and whispered of revelations to come that were too terrible even to be spoken in loud tones. And at last the revelations have been made!

I am now, Mr. Speaker, in the fourteenth year of a not inactive service in this Hall. I have taken and have given blows. I have, no doubt, said many things in the heat of debate which I would now gladly recall. I have, no doubt, given votes which in fuller light I would gladly change. But I have never done anything in my public career for which I could be put to the faintest blush in any presence, or for which I cannot answer to my constituents, my conscience, and the great Searcher of hearts.

RESIDENCE OF HON. JAMES G. BLAINE, AT AUGUSTA, MAINE.



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CHAPTER XIV.

Approach of the Convention of 1876.—Activity of Blaine's Enemies.—Rumors of Bribery.—Blaine Meets Them in Open Session.—Obtaining the Mulligan Letters.—Meeting of the Convention.—Ingersoll's Speech.—The "Plumed Knight." The Vote.—Blaine's Letter to Hayes.—The Campaign.—Blaine's Appointment to the Senate.—His Reception by the People.—Re-election to the Senate.

As the 14th of June drew nearer and Blaine's nomination seemed more and more certain, his Democratic opponents increased their efforts to have the Republican Convention reject him. In no corner of his life could there be found a cause of serious criticism unless it be in his investment in railroad bonds. On that matter it appears that none seriously believed that they should find any wrong. But should they succeed in getting him under investigation and keep the investigation open until after the Republican Convention, the Democrats hoped to prevent in that way the taking of their strongest man by the Republicans, as a candidate for the Presidency.

Shrewdly endeavoring to cover their scheme, a resolution was offered and passed to investigate the affairs of the Pacific railroad and it was so worded as to allow the committee of investigation a wide scope in their inquiries.

As soon as it was passed the exultant originators of the scheme talked openly of the intention under cover of that resolution to investigate Blaine's business transactions in railroad bonds.

The purpose was then too clear to be mistaken as it was then near the first of June and the Republican Convention met on the fourteenth of that month. If the committee, on which were a majority of Democrats, were allowed to keep control of the matter the cloud would hang over Blaine's reputation and suspicions be allowed to arise which would be likely to defeat him. That such was their purpose became fully apparent when a despatch from London exonerating Blaine from the half-hinted charges against him was suppressed, being shown by Proctor Knott, the chairman of the committee, to one or two Democratic friends. Some of these Democrats were too honorable men to conceal it, and it reached Blaine's ears. He did not hesitate a moment after that. He was bold and innocent. He determined if possible to set the whole matter before the country openly where all could read and judge for themselves.

Among other things which they pretended was against his good name was his purchase of some bonds of the Arkansas and Little Rock railroad after Congress had legislated concerning it. No one claimed that he had any interest or knew of the road when the matter came up in Congress. The committee summoned a man named Mulligan from Boston who in some way had obtained possession of Blaine's private correspondence with one of his friends concerning the investments in railroad stock. Blaine discovered this, and, to defeat the damaging surmises which the Democrats kept in circulation concerning this correspondence, he went to Mulligan and after considerable entreaty, obtained the whole correspondence. Blaine then, on the fifth of June, went into the House and making it a question of personal privilege read the whole of the letters boldly and had them printed in the record of the House proceedings.

It was an unusual and a daring measure. Few men would have had the courage to vindicate themselves in that

way. The correspondence showed no dealings in any bonds but those of the Arkansas and Little Rock railroad which he purchased as any other buyer would and on which he must have lost \$15,000 or \$20,000. The suspicions given out beforehand were that he was bribed by gifts of bonds to do something for the road as a member of Congress. But no trace of any such action appeared. Yet his open and complete vindication of himself and the perfectly apparent motive of the opposition in suggesting the investigation and suppressing evidence in his favor, did not prevent some lovers of gossip and some morbidly suspicious people from misconstruing and doubting still.

How much this accusation had to do with the defeat which followed in the convention cannot be seen. That it had some effect on a few timid ones who believed Blaine thoroughly honest, but "feared the talk," there is not much doubt. Fortunately for the nation they who could stab an individual reputation in the dark could not succeed in killing the party to which he belonged.

June 14th, 1876, the Republican Convention met in Cincinnati. The excitement was great. But Blaine was the leading candidate. Hon. Theodore M. Pomeroy of New York was temporary chairman and Hon. Edward McPherson of Pennsylvania was permanent chairman.

The great city of Cincinnati was filled with excited politicians, all discussing, criticising, or wildly lauding the various candidates. In all the cities and large towns of the country, crowds stood in front of newspaper offices and telegraph stations with excited anxiety. The great Convention awaited with an intensity of emotion that none but those who were there could realize to be true. When the time came to bring Blaine's name before that body, a silence deep and oppressive, followed the din and uproar of the previous hour. But when Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, of

Illinois, ascended the platform as the advocate for the friends of Blaine, the enthusiasm was displayed in wild and almost frantic shouts and signals. Col. Ingersoll was inspired by the occasion, by the audience before him, and his friendship for the man for whose nomination he arose. His speech was a remarkable specimen of modern oratory, and was the origin of the sobriquet of "The Plumed Knight," which has since adhered to Blaine's name.

Colonel Ingersoll in his speech, said :

"Our country, crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of the past and prophetic of her future ; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius ; asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience and brain beneath the flag. That man is James G. Blaine. For the Republican host led by this intrepid man there can be no such thing as defeat. This is a grand year—a year filled with the recollection of the Revolution ; filled with proud and tender memories of the sacred past ; filled with the legends of liberty—a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountain of enthusiasm ; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field ; a year in which we call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander ; a man that has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of Rebellion ; a man who, like an intellectual athlete, stood in the arena of debate, challenged all comers, and who up to the present moment is a total stranger to defeat. Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every defamer of this country and maligner of its honor.

For the Republican party to desert that gallant man now

is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle. James G. Blaine is now and has been for years the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republic. I call it sacred, because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

Gentlemen of the Convention, in the name of the Great Republic, the only Republic that ever existed upon this earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of all her soldiers that have died upon the field of battle, and in the name of those that perished in the skeleton clutches of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose suffering he so eloquently remembers, Illinois nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders, James G. Blaine."

Applause that deafened and excitement which almost overcame many followed this eloquent tribute. None felt it was overdrawn and none of his opponents hinted that its statements were untrue.

On the first ballot Blaine had two hundred and eighty-five votes, Bristow one hundred and thirteen votes, Conkling ninety-nine votes, Morton one hundred and twenty-four votes and Hayes sixty-one votes. The Hon. Roscoe Conkling, ever after his famous tournament with Blaine in the House, seemed determined to do all he could consistently with his allegiance to his party to defeat Blaine and his friends. This feeling appeared again on this occasion. Conkling's friends united with those of Morton to defeat Blaine and the result was the nomination of R. B. Hayes on the seventh ballot. The vote stood on the last ballot, Blaine three hundred and fifty-one, Hayes three hundred and eighty-four, and Bristow twenty-one.

There was a feeling of disappointment throughout the country at the defeat of Blaine and for a time great fear was

expressed by many of the leading Republicans that it would result in the defeat of the party. That such would have been the case there can be no question, had Blaine refused to join in the campaign. But Blaine was a patriot and a statesman, not a narrow, selfish seeker after office. And while the balloting was going on and Blaine and Garfield sat together in Blaine's house in Washington listening to the dispatches, Blaine predicted that Hayes would be nominated. He took a pencil before the result of the last ballot was known and wrote the following dispatch and showed it to Garfield:

To Gov. R. B. HAYES, Columbus, Ohio.

I offer you my sincerest congratulations on your nomination. It will be alike my highest pleasure as well as my first political duty to do the utmost in my power to promote your election. The earliest moments of my returning and confirmed health will be devoted to securing you as large a vote in Maine as she would have given for myself.

J. G. BLAINE.

Into the labor of the subsequent campaign he did enter frankly, heartily and conscientiously.

July 10th, 1876, immediately after the Convention the Governor of Maine appointed Blaine to fill the unexpired term of Hon. Lot M. Morrill, who resigned his seat in the United States Senate to take the position of Secretary of the Treasury in the President's Cabinet.

His entry into this new branch of the Government was no relief from work. For he was so well known and so conversant with the Nation's business that he needed no further experience to enter into the practical work. He was received cordially by the Senators and took his place at once with the oldest as a debater and worker.

On taking his seat in the Senate, Blaine wrote a letter to his constituents in Maine, which contained the following expressions :

"Beginning with 1862 you have by continuous elections sent me as your representative to the Congress of the United States. For such marked confidence I have endeavored to return the most zealous and devoted service in my power, and it is certainly not without a feeling of pain that I now surrender a trust by which I have always felt so signally honored. It has been my boast in public and in private that no man on the floor of Congress ever represented a constituency more distinguished for intelligence, for patriotism, for public and personal virtue. The cordial support you have so uniformly given me through these fourteen eventful years is the chief honor of my life. In closing the intimate relations I have so long held with the people of this district, it is a great satisfaction to me to know that with returning health I shall enter upon a field of duty in which I can still serve them in common with the larger constituency of which they form a part."

The Kennebec Journal, well representing the sentiment of his Congressional district, in answer to his letter, said :

"Fourteen years ago, standing in the Convention at which he was first nominated, Mr. Blaine pledged himself to use his best services for the district, and to support to the best of his ability the policy of Abraham Lincoln to subdue the rebellion, and then and there expressed plainly the idea that slavery must and ought to be abolished to save the Union. That he has kept his pledge faithfully his constituents know and feel, and the records of Congress attest. To this district his abilities were freely given, and as he rose in honor in the House and in the public estimation he reflected honor and gave strength to the constituency that supported him. Every step he made in advance was a gain for them. It was a grand thing for this district to have as its Representative in Congress for six years the Speaker of the House, filling the place next in importance to that of President of the United States, with matchless ability. It was a grander thing when he took the lead of the minority in the House last December, routed the Democratic majority, and drove back in dismay the ex-Confederates who were intending and

expecting through the advantage they had already gained to grasp the supreme power in the Nation and wield it in the interest of the cause of secession and rebellion revived. For what he has done as their representative in Congress, never will this 3d District of Maine forget to honor the name of James G. Blaine. It will live in the hearts of this people even as the name of Henry Clay is still loved by the people of his old district in Kentucky."

During the campaign Blaine visited many of the large cities of the Nation and his reception was one of the most astonishing ovations ever seen in this country. The Kennebec Journal of October 4th, 1876, speaking of Blaine's reception, said :

"The grand ovations which Senator Blaine has received in the Western and Middle States are said by good authorities to have excelled any ever accorded to any individual since the early days of the republic.

'In the Newark (N. J.) Courier of Saturday we find the following account of his reception in that city, in which Democrats as well as Republicans joined to do him honor. The Courier says :

'The Republican demonstration in Newark on Tuesday in honor of the Hon. J. G. Blaine was the most remarkable event of the campaign in this State. In its proportion and in the degree of enthusiasm shown, the afternoon meeting, and likewise the reception and street parade in the evening were beyond comparison with any previous demonstration in New Jersey, and can be likened only to the monster outpouring of people and the absorbing interest manifested in the Western campaign.'

'Shortly after one o'clock crowds of people were noticed moving towards Institute Hall in Washington street, and from that time until two o'clock they flowed in a steady stream into the capacious building. The lower floor, the galleries and the stage were filled even to crowding with an audience which for intelligence as well as number has not

been often excelled in Newark. It included nearly all the representative Republicans of the county, beside numbers of equally prominent Democrats, many of whom were given seats on the stage; several clergymen, among them Rev. Drs. Guenther, Fish, Forrester and Rev. W. W. Newton, and hundreds of other professional men. Hon. T. B. Peddie, Hon. M. L. Ward, Hon. H. N. Congar and Hon. N. Perry were prominent on the platform. Ladies occupied front seats on the floor of the hall.

'For half an hour before Mr. Blaine's arrival, which was about two o'clock, the vast audience were waiting for him with an eager expectancy that was quite marked. His appearance on the stage, accompanied by Hon. G. A. Halsey, whose guest he was, Mr. John Y. Foster and Capt. A. L. Bassett, was hailed with rapturous cheering. Upon call of Captain Bassett three cheers were again given for the "great champion of human rights." Senator Kirk, who was chosen chairman introduced Mr. Blaine and thereby evoked once more the cheers of the excited assembly. Their loud acclaims filled the hall, died down and then rose again, while at the same time hats and handkerchiefs were waved in all parts of the house.

'Mr. Blaine showed great fatigue under the hard work he was doing for the Republican cause. He was evidently weary in body and mind, and in addition to this his voice was husky, so that he made no attempt at oratory, but delivered his address in a free, semi-conversational manner. It was nevertheless forcible and effective.

'At the conclusion of the speech, the meeting was brought to a close with cheers for Mr. Blaine, Mr. Peddie and Hayes and Wheeler. Immediately a rush was made to the stage, to shake hands with Mr. Blaine. He was again cheered there by the group of men about him and afterwards in the street upon leaving the hall.

'The dinner, at the residence of ex-Congressman Halsey, was a very elegant affair. Among the honored guests who dined with Mr. Blaine were ex-Governor Ward, Hon. Thomas N. McCarter, Hon. Thomas B. Peddie, Hon. Nehemiah Perry, Hon. H. N. Congar, Hon. Wm. H. Kirk, Mr. John Y. Foster, Mr. T. T. Kinney, Capt. A. L. Bassett, Mr. J. W. Grover, Hon. John Hill, Mr. John L. Blake, Mr. Ira M. Yarrison, Joseph Coulter, Esq., Mr. William Stainsby.

'The following toast was proposed by Captain Bassett: "Henry Clay and James G. Blaine; they enjoy alike the love of the people; may the latter secure what the former failed to achieve." There were no speeches.

'The reception at Park Hall amounted as did the meeting in the afternoon, to an ovation. As soon as the doors were open, at seven-thirty o'clock Alderman Stainsby appeared upon the platform and announced that Mr. Blaine was in the hall, and invited those assembled to pass across the platform and greet the distinguished Senator. As that gentleman appeared a tremendous cheer rang out, so hearty, so enthusiastic, that it gave the best assurance of the appreciation of the citizens of Newark of this brave and talented leader of the Republican party. Hon. George A. Halsey stood beside Mr. Blaine and gave the introductions. In response to earnest calls for a speech the Maine Senator stepped forward and said that he thought one speech in a day was sufficient. He tendered his warmest thanks for the splendid ovation given him, and said that no place had shown more earnest, friendly greeting than Newark. He was cheered repeatedly while the handshaking was going on.

'Among those present at the reception were Hon. Thomas B. Peddie, ex-Gov. Ward, Mr. S. C. Halsey, Capt. Bassett, John L. Blake, Joseph L. Munn, Dr. Stockton, A. M. Holbrook, Rev. Mr. Hutchings, Senator Kirk, Hon. Amos

Clark, Mr. E. G. Brown, Hon. Nehemiah Perry, Alderman Gould and many others of note. A large number of the most respectable Democrats in the city were also present and shook Mr. Blaine by the hand. During the hand-shaking, Hon. Thomas B. Peddie, our next Congressman, came in for a full share. He was enthusiastically cheered.

'It seemed to be generally believed that Mr. Blaine would be the successor of Gen. Hayes in the Presidency, and many expressed their devotion to him as they took him by the hand, in such words as these : "Sorry we cannot vote for you this time but we will next," and "Thank the Lord I have got a chance to take you by the hand," and many other similar expressions. The ladies also gave many expressions of admiration for the hero of a hundred hard-fought battles in the House, and several grandmothers went away happy after he had kissed the little ones in their arms. By request of Mr. Blaine, the Republican Glee Club, consisting of Messrs. John Woodal, John Foster, John W. Creswell and Wm. Watkins, sang their celebrated Hayes and Wheeler campaign song, which was enthusiastically received. As the Senator was receiving on time, the reception had to be short to give way for the grand review of the Boys in Blue, at the residence of the next Congressman, Hon. Thomas B. Peddie. The residence of Robert Stoutendurgh, in front of the hall was beautifully decorated with flags and colored lights. As Mr. Blaine passed up Broad Street that avenue was all ablaze with the torches of the Boys in Blue, forming. In Mr. Peddie's elegant parlor a brilliant company awaited him in which were a large number of ladies. Among the gentlemen present were Hons. Cortlandt Parker, John Hill, Marcus L. Ward, George A. Halsey, Amos Clark, Messrs. S. C. Halsey, J. Jacob Hockenjor, Alderman Gould, Marvin and Stainsby, and Wm. Gould of Caldwell.

'Cannon on the park thundered out tones of welcome, fireworks blazed incessantly, many colored lights making the scene truly grand and picturesque. The Boys in Blue marched splendidly. They kept time like an army of veteran soldiers, and there was not the slightest disorder in the ranks. All of the townships were represented, and by actual count of the men reported to Brigadier General Bowers, there were about 3,500 in line. Conspicuous among them was the James A. Hedden Guards of Watsessing, bearing a beautiful banner. The park seemed surrounded by a cordon of torches. Cheer upon cheer rent the air, rockets went streaming up toward the quiet stars and victory seemed to pervade the air. Mr. Blaine left the residence of Mr. Peddie in a carriage, accompanied by that gentleman and Messrs. Hasley and Ward, for the Market Street depot. Down Market Street the Boys in Blue opened ranks, occupying each side of the street while the distinguished guest drove between, and was greeted along the whole route by continuous cheers. The line reached almost from Broad Street to the depot. At the latter place there was a display of pyrotechnics, the Boys having determined to give the Senator the grandest send-off possible.' "

The New York Tribune said, referring to Mr. Blaine's reception during the campaign of 1876 :

"The reception of Mr. Blaine at the hall of the Cooper Union, last evening, was one of the grandest of demonstrations which even this city has ever witnessed. In every respect the audience was one which reflected credit upon the intelligence and patriotism of the metropolis. Among those on the platform were Thurlow Weed, Elliot C. Cowdin, Luther R. Marsh, Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, Gen. G. B. Sheridan, William Blakeman, Judge F. J. Fithian, Henry Highland Garnet, Hon. William A. Darling, Charles S. Spencer, ex-Judge A. J. Dit-

tenhoefer, Hon. A. W. Tenney, and many others. At 7:20 Hon. A. B. Cornell called the meeting to order and nominated Clarence A. Seward as chairman. Mr. Seward accepted the honor in a neat speech, and, after the completion of the organization by the appointment of Vice Presidents and Secretaries, introduced to the audience the speaker of the evening, Hon. J. G. Blaine. The appearance of the ex-Speaker was the signal for a most enthusiastic and tumultuous reception. Men cheered until they were hoarse, women waved their handkerchiefs, and for full five minutes the air resounded with the continuous applause. When the noise of his welcome had sufficiently subsided, Mr. Blaine advanced to the front of the platform and spoke for an hour and a half. His exposure of the meanness, duplicity and false pretenses of the Democratic Confederate House was telling, and was received with thunders of applause from the entire assemblage. His tribute to the courage of the Republican Senate in resisting the arrogant demands of the ex-Rebel Representatives, called forth a renewed tempest of cheering, while his description of the servile submission of the Northern Democratic majority to the Southern Democratic minority, was a masterpiece of sarcasm and indignation. The peroration in which he pointed the argument for protection to the Southern blacks by quoting Edmund Burke's appeal in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, in which justice was demanded for the suffering Hindoo, was spoken with the utmost effect, and was received accordingly. The scene when Mr. Blaine left the rostrum, was a repetition of his welcome. It was generally conceded that the meeting was one of the most memorable in the annals of New York politics."

Mr. Blaine was elected by the Maine Legislature to complete the term of Senator Morrill, and again in 1877, elected for the succeeding full term of six years.

He had become so established in the hearts of the people of Maine, and their confidence in his good judgment and integrity was such that any honor which they had to bestow they pressed upon him as one above all others entitled to their suffrages.

CHAPTER XV.

Blaine on Southern War Claims.—The Celebrated Neal Dow Case.—Chinese Emigration.—Blaine's Answer to William Lloyd Garrison.—The Silver Question.—Remonetization of Silver.—Pensioning Jeff Davis.—United States Troops at the Polls.—A Sharp discussion in the Senate.

During Blaine's service in the United States Senate he wrote a letter to the Toledo Blade upon the Southern war claims, which so fully explains his position in the Senate and in his public speeches, that it is given here to save the recital of the many things he said and did upon the subject:

TOLEDO, October 5, 1876.

To the Editor of the Toledo Blade:

I observe in The Cincinnati Enquirer of yesterday, a letter from Bion Bradbury, Esq., an attorney-at-law in Portland, Maine, in regard to the decision made by Judge Clifford of the United States Supreme Court, in the now famous Neal Dow case. Mr. Bradbury is counsel for the plaintiff in that suit, is fully committed to all its dangerous doctrines, and is well known in Maine as one of the most rancorous and uncompromising of partisan Democrats. He is a fair and full type of the men whom the loyal Republican sentiment of the North will have to fight to the bitter end on all questions of this kind. Only two or three points of Mr. Bradbury's letter require my attention, and I am compelled to write "on the wing," and of course very hastily.

Mr. Bradbury intimates that I have had in my possession,

ever since my Boston speech of September 18th, a letter from Judge Clarke, of New Hampshire, who sat with Judge Clifford, and dissented from his opinion. The inference Mr. Bradbury desires the public to draw is that I have concealed or withheld Judge Clarke's letter all that time. The truth is, Judge Clarke's letter was not written till September 22d, mailed the 23d, and has been following me from point to point, and finally reached me at Cincinnati three days since. The letter is as follows, and I give it *verbatim et literatim*:

MANCHESTER, N. H., Sept. 22, '76.

My Dear MR. BLAINE:

My attention has been called to a passage of your speech at Boston, in which you refer to a suit against Neal Dow, recently heard by Judge Clifford and myself at Portland.

Your statement of the case is substantially correct, and forcibly illustrates the danger to be apprehended from these Southern war claims, and yet it may do injustice to Judge Clifford, by leaving an impression that he is in favor of paying such claims. I hardly think this is so, and no such inference can be drawn from his conduct or decision in this case. He heard the case in the first instance sitting alone. Neither Judge Shepley nor Judge Fox could sit with him. He had the case for a long time under advisement, it presenting a question of great National importance, and of fine pleading. He did not wish to decide it alone, and it could in only one way be carried to the Supreme Court, to wit., a certificate of difference between two judges, because the amount being about \$1,700, it could not go upon writ of error. To enable the parties, therefore, if they wish, to take the case to the Supreme Court, he sent for me to come and sit with him, and sign the certificate of difference, as I did.

One great difficulty in the case is, General Dow let a judgment go by default in a court recognized by Judge Shepley while Military Governor of New Orleans, and that judgment is now sued here. The judgment is conclusive if the court had jurisdiction, and the court was one recognized by the Military Governor, and its process was duly served on General Dow.

The case is one of difficulty, but I am quite certain Judge Clifford is anxious it should be decided right.

Yours truly,

DANIEL CLARKE.

It will be observed that Judge Clarke frankly says that my "*statement of the case was substantially correct*," and further that it *forcibly illustrates the danger to be apprehended from these Southern war claims*. These remarks by Judge Clarke sufficiently answer Mr. Bradbury's ill-tempered, ill-mannered, untruthful assertions respecting the main point at issue.

I am not responsible for the report of my speech at Warren, as quoted by Mr. Bradbury. I never saw the reporter's notes, and never read the extract quoted by Mr. Bradbury until I saw it in his letter. But I was assuredly reported incorrectly. I certainly never dreamed of calling Judge Clifford "*a hungry Democrat*." I am too familiar with the Judge's well-fed and portly dimensions to apply to him any such absurd characterization. Neither did I reflect on his personal or official integrity. On the contrary, I state that one of the most alarming features of the decision was that Judge Clifford belonged to that gnarled, twisted, ingrained, incurable school of Bourbon Democracy that *honestly* believes in just such dangerous and destructive doctrines as are covered by this decision.

Mr. Bradbury says that the only point involved in Judge Clifford's decision was the question of jurisdiction of the Louisiana Court. Precisely! The Louisiana Court gave judgment against a colonel of the Union army, for property seized and appropriated by a foraging squad of the regiment; judgment was taken by default, Colonel Dow being with his command in the field, utterly unable to respond to a summons, and certainly not dreaming that civil suits could be brought in the country of insurgents against officers of the

invading army of the Union. I have always stated the case with accuracy, and neither Judge Clifford nor Mr. Bradbury can show why every other officer of the Union army may not, in like manner, be sued for all the property which his command may have seized and appropriated during the four years of the rebellion. Judge Clifford's decision is far worse than if it sustained a suit brought since the war, for it distinctly recognizes, if it does not positively affirm, that while the war was actually going on *flagrante bello*, an officer of the Union army was bound, at whatever peril it might be to the Union cause, to leave his command when summoned by a local court, in the heart of a rebellious country. And Judge Clifford, without looking at the facts which notoriously surrounded the case—nay, shutting his eyes to these facts, when it required a great effort to close them, recognizes the jurisdiction of a Louisiana court to interfere, at the very crisis of the war, with the operations of the Union army. Judge Clarke says: "Judge Clifford has had the case *a long time* under advisement, it presenting a case of grave National importance." The "long time," referred to by Judge Clarke, covers at least eight years, I am told. It is not for me to say that Judge Clifford has not had good reasons for withholding his opinion this "long time," but it cannot fail to strike the country that the decision is promulgated just at the time that Judge Clarke thinks that there is "danger to be apprehended from these Southern war claims." I have no right to comment on Judge Clifford's motives, and do not assume to judge them, but I have a perfect right to discuss the mood and tense of his remarkable opinion. And the danger concealed under that opinion is greatly enhanced by the reported expression of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, that "*every soldier who marched across Southern soil was a trespasser, and liable to suit for damages in an action for trespass.*" Ex-Gov. Underwood, of Ver-

mont, declares that Mr. Tilden made this identical declaration to him during the war.

The dangers to which I called attention, as exemplified by Judge Clifford's opinion, were substantially these:

1. That an army officer can be sued, and compelled, by judgment of court, to pay for property seized by him, or his soldiers, at the South during the war.

2. That in such a suit, by decision of the Supreme Court, touching cotton cases before the Court of Claims, no proof whatever can be required that the plaintiff was not a rebel, but that he may recover without such proof.

3. That such a suit may be brought, and judgment recovered in any Southern State Court, and then the judgment sued in a United States Court at the North, and the judgment affirmed, and the officer compelled to pay, by the process of the United States Court.

No answer has been made to any of these points by Mr. Bradbury. He says that Bradish Johnson, the plaintiff, was, in fact, loyal, but he does not assert that any such fact was proved, or that Judge Clifford's opinion makes any distinction whatever between a loyal citizen and a rebel. And this point illustrates the very danger I have been trying to point out, and most forcibly presents the rapid progress we are making towards paying Southern claims, regardless of the loyalty of the claimant.

With the Republican party in power, the United States Treasury is safe from the frightful raid now impending over it. But what, I ask, may be apprehended from a Democratic Congress, a Democratic President, and Democratic Judges?

The passage of one short law, covering only three points, would bankrupt the United States Government, and destroy our public credit. Those points are:

1. That no proof of loyalty shall be required of any

claimant before the Southern claims commission, now in session, or before any department of the Government other than that required by the United States Supreme Court in suits at law, i. e. *no proof whatever.*

2. That the statutes of limitation shall not apply in case of any war claims otherwise allowable against any individual or against the United States. If there be any question of law about the power to revive a claim against an individual, once barred by statute of limitation, there is certainly none as to the power of the Government to revive it as against itself, and that is the point principally affecting the United States Treasury and the loyal tax-payers of the country.

3. That "reasonable compensation may be recovered by *all* citizens of the United States for the use and occupation of their property by the United States army or any part thereof, during the late civil war;" and in these words I am but quoting the language of a bill now pending in the U. S. House of Representatives, introduced by a Democrat, and under consideration by the Democratic Judiciary Committee to whom it was referred in February last, and who did not report it back to the House, but held it for consideration until after the Presidential election. Why did they not report adversely upon it, promptly and decidedly?

The courteous tone in which Judge Clarke refers to his belief in Judge Clifford's intention to do right, belongs to the amenities of the Bench, and with these I am not dealing at present. I only see that Judge Clifford did not agree with Judge Clarke, and end, as he might then and there, all dangerous claims of this character. I only see that Judge Clifford's great influence on the Supreme Bench, based on his long service and his learning in the law, has all been thrown on the Southern or rebel side of this mighty question. In short, in the very language of Judge Clarke, I

only see that the case "fully illustrates the danger to be apprehended from these Southern war claims." And seeing these things, and believing these things, I have exposed them wherever I have spoken, and shall continue to do so to the end of the Presidential campaign.

Very respectfully,

J. G. BLAINE.

In February, 1879, the question of Chinese Emigration which had from time to time appeared in the Senate, came up in the definite form of a bill to restrict Chinese emigration, and Blaine made a strong argument in favor of the measure and gave many precedents and statistics in support of his position. But he was often interrupted and other matters interfered with the discussion so much that a better conclusion of his argument can be obtained from a letter he wrote soon afterwards in answer to the criticism of William Lloyd Garrison :

The reflections of Mr. William Lloyd Garrison upon the Senators who voted for the bill restricting Chinese emigration are made, I think, without the thorough examination which he usually brings to the discussion of public questions. Permit me, with plainness of speech, and yet with the sincere respect I entertain for Mr. Garrison, to state the grounds on which I cast my vote for the measure.

First. There has not been from the outset any emigration of Chinese in the sense in which emigration comes to us from Europe. It has all been "under contract" and through agencies, and if not in every respect of the Cooly type, the entire emigration from China has had the worst and most demoralized features of Coolyism. The Burlingame treaty specially "reprobated any other than an *entirely voluntary* emigration," and yet from the first Chinaman that came, in 1848, to the last one that landed at San Fran-

cisco, it is safe to say that not one in one hundred came in an "entirely voluntary" manner. Up to October 1, 1876, the records of the San Francisco custom-house show that 233,136 Chinese had arrived in this country and that 93,273 had returned to China. The emigration since has been quite large, and allowing for returns and deaths, the best statistics I can procure show that about 109,000 Chinese are in California and from 20,000 to 25,000 in the adjacent Pacific States and Territories.

Second. Of this large population fully nine-tenths are adult males. The women have not in all numbered over seven thousand, and, according to all accounts, they are impure and lewd far beyond the Anglo-Saxon conception of impurity and lewdness. One of the best informed Californians I ever met says that not one score of decent and pure women could ever have been found in the whole Chinese emigration. It is only in the imagined, rather I hope the unimagined, feculence and foulness of Sodom and Gomorrah that any parallel can be found to the atrocious nastiness of the Chinese quarter of San Francisco. I speak of this from abounding testimony—largely from those who have had personal opportunity to study the subject in its revolting details. In the entire Chinese population of the Pacific coast scarcely one family is to be found; no hearthstone of comfort, no fireside of joy; no father nor mother, nor brother nor sister; no child reared by parents; no domestic and ennobling influences; no ties of affection. The relation of wife is degraded beyond all description, the females holding and dishonoring that sacred name being sold and transferred from one man to another, without shame and without fear; one woman being at the same time the wife to several men. Many of these women came to San Francisco under written contracts for prostitution, openly and shamelessly entered into. I have myself read the translation of some of these

abominable documents. If as a nation we have the right to keep out infectious diseases, if we have the right to exclude the criminal classes from coming to us, we surely possess the right to exclude that emigration which reeks with impurity and which cannot come to us without plenteously sowing the seeds of moral and physical disease, destitution, and death.

Third. The Chinese emigration to California began with the American emigration in 1848. The two races have been side by side for more than thirty years, nearly an entire generation, and not one step toward assimilation has been taken. The Chinese occupy their own peculiar quarter in the city, adhere to their own dress, speak their own language, worship in their own heathen temples, and inside the municipal law and independent of it, administer a code among themselves, even pronouncing the death penalty and executing it in criminal secrecy. If this were for a year only, or for two or five or even ten years, it might be claimed that more time was needed for domestication and assimilation; but this has been going on for an entire generation, and the Chinaman to-day approaches no nearer our civilization than he did when the Golden Gate first received him. In sworn testimony before an investigating committee of Congress, Dr. Mears, the health officer of San Francisco, described as "a careful and learned man," testified that the condition of the Chinese quarter is "horrible, inconceivably horrible!" He stated that the Chinese as a rule "live in large tenement-houses, large numbers crowded into individual rooms, without proper ventilation, with bad drainage, and underground, with a great deal of filth, the odors from which are horrible." He described their "mode of taking a room ten feet high and putting a flooring half way to the ceiling, both floors being crowded at night with sleepers. In these crowded dens cases of

small-pox were concealed from the police." "They live underground in bunks. The topography of that portion of Chinadom is such that you enter a house sometimes and think that it is a one-story house, and you will find two or three stories down below on the side of the hill, where they live in great filth." Another close and accurate observer, a resident of California, says "the only wonder is that desolating pestilences have not ensued. Small-pox has often been epidemic, and could always be traced to Chinese origin. The Chinese quarter was once occupied by shops, churches, and dwellings of Americans. Now these are as thoroughly Mongolian as any part of Canton. All other races flee from the contact." Dr. Mears further testified, and gave many revolting details in proof that the Chinese "are cruel and indifferent to their sick." He described cases of Chinese lepers at the city hospital: "Their feet dropped off by dry gangrene, and their hands were wasted and attenuated. Their finger-nails dropped off." He said the "Chinese were gradually working eastward, and would by and by crowd into eastern cities, where the conditions under which they live in San Francisco would produce, in the absence of its climatic advantages, destructive pestilences." Perhaps a Chinese quarter in Boston, with forty thousand Mongolians located somewhere between the south end and north end of the city, and separating the two, would give Mr. Garrison some new views as to the power and right of a nation to exclude moral and physical pestilence from its borders. In San Francisco there is no hot weather, the thermometer rarely rising above sixty-five degrees. One of the most intelligent physicians in the United States says that the Chinese quarter of San Francisco transferred to Saint Louis, Chicago, Cincinnati, or any eastern city, would, in a hot summer, breed a plague equal to the "black death" that is now alarming the civilized world.

When Mr. Garrison says the emigration of Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Frenchmen, Germans, and Scandinavians must be put on the same footing as the Chinese Coolies, he confounds all distinctions, and, of course without intending it, libels almost the entire white population whose blood is inherited from the races he names. All the emigration from Europe to-day assimilates at once with its own blood on this soil, and to place the Chinese Coolies on the same footing is to shut one's eyes to all the instincts of human nature and all the teachings of history.

Fourth. Is it not inevitable that a class of men living in this degraded and filthy condition, and on the poorest of food, can work for less than the American laborer is entitled to receive for his daily toil? Put the two classes of labor side by side and the cheap servile labor pulls down the more manly toil to its level. The free, white laborer never could compete with the slave labor of the South. In the Chinaman the white laborer finds only another form of servile competition—in some aspects more revolting and corrupting than African slavery. Whoever contends for the unrestricted emigration of Chinese Coolies contends for that system of toil which blights the prospects of the white laborer—dooming him to starvation wages, killing his ambition by rendering his struggle hopeless, and ending in a plodding and pitiable poverty. Nor is it a truthful answer to say that this danger is remote. Remote it may be for Mr. Garrison, for Boston, and for New England, but it is instant and pressing on the Pacific Slope. Already the Chinese male adults on that coast are wellnigh as numerous as the white voters of California, and it is conceded that a Chinese emigrant can be placed in San Francisco for one-half the amount required to transport a man from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific coast, and for one-third what it requires for a New Yorker or New Englander to

reach California or Oregon. The late Caleb Cushing, who had carefully studied the Chinese question ever since his mission to Peking in 1842, maintained that unless resisted by the United States the first general famine in China would be followed by an emigration to California that would swamp the white race. I observe that a New England newspaper—I especially regret that such ignorance should be shown in New England—says it is only “a strip” on the Pacific that the Chinaman seeks for a home. The Chinese are already scattered in three States and two adjacent Territories whose area is larger than the original thirteen colonies. California alone is larger than New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and is capable of maintaining a vast population of Anglo-Saxon freemen if we do not surrender it to Chinese Coolies.

Fifth. Before the same Committee of Investigation from whose report I have already quoted, Mr. T. W. Jackson, a man of high character, who had traveled extensively in the East, testified that his strong belief was “that if the Chinese felt that they were safe and had a firm footing in California they would come in enormous numbers, because the population of China is practically inexhaustible.” Such, indeed, is the unbroken testimony of all who are entitled to express an opinion. The decision of Congress on this matter therefore becomes of the very last importance. Had it been in favor of Chinese emigration, with the encouragement and protection which that would have implied, it requires no vivid imagination to foresee that the great slope between the Sierras and the Pacific would become the emigrating ground for the Chinese Empire. So that I do not at all exaggerate when I say that on the adoption or rejection of the policy passed upon by Congress, hangs the fate of the Pacific Slope—whether its labor shall be that of American free-men or servile Mongolians. If Mr. Garrison thinks the

interests of his own countrymen, his own Government, and, in a still larger sense, the interests of humanity and civilization will be promoted by giving up the Pacific to Mongolian labor, I beg respectfully but firmly to differ from him. There is no ground on which we are bound to receive them to our own detriment. Charity is the first of Christian graces. But Mr. Garrison would not feel obliged to receive into his family a person that would physically contaminate or morally corrupt his children. As with a family so with a nation : the same instinct of self-preservation exists, the same right to prefer the interest of our own people, the same duty to exclude that which is corrupting and dangerous to the Republic !

Sixth. The outcry that we are violating our treaty obligations is without any foundation. The article on emigration in the treaty has not been observed by China for a single hour since it was made. All the testimony taken on the subject—and it has been full and copious—shows conclusively that the entire emigration was “under contract;” that the Coolies had been gathered together for export, and gathered as agents in our Western States would gather live stock for shipment. A very competent witness in California, speaking to this point, says that :

“On the arrival of the Chinese in California, they are consigned like hogs to the different Chinese companies, their contracts are vised, and the Cooly commences to pay to the companies fees to insure care if he is taken sick and his return home dead or alive. His return is prevented until after his contract has been entirely fulfilled. If he breaks his contract the spies of the six companies hunt him to prevent his returning to China by arrangements with the steamship company or their agents in the steamship employ to prevent his getting a ticket. The agents of the steamship companies testified to this same fact. If a ticket is obtained for him by others he is forcibly stopped on the day of sailing by the employés of the six companies, called

'high-binders,' who can always be seen guarding the Coolies."

Mr. Joseph J. Ray, a Philadelphia merchant, long resident in China, and a close observer of its emigration, says "that nine hundred and ninety-nine one-thousandths of the Chinese who have reached our shores were not free agents in their coming. Files of the Hong-Kong newspapers from 1861 would supply information regarding the 'barracoons' at that port, and when the system had become too great a scandal, their removal to Macao (a Portuguese colony forty miles distant), in which 'barracoons' the Chinese, in every sense prisoners, were retained until their shipment to San Francisco, Callao, Havana, &c. These, called by courtesy emigrants, were collected from within a radius of two to three hundred miles from Canton, and consisted of the abjectly poor, who, willingly or not, were sold to obtain food for their families, or for gambling debts (the Chinese, as you are aware, being inveterate gamblers), or the scapegraces of the country, fleeing to avoid punishment."

It is of course a mere misuse of terms to call this an "entirely voluntary emigration," and yet none other was permissible under the Burlingame Treaty. Our Government would be clearly justified in disregarding the treaty on the single ground that the Chinese Government had never respected its provisions. But without any reference to that, our Government possesses the right to abrogate the treaty if it adjudges that its continuance is "pernicious to the state." Indeed, the two pending propositions in the Senate differed not in regard to our own right to abrogate the treaty, but simply as to whether we should do it in July, 1879, by the exercise of our power without further notice to China, or whether we should do it in January, 1880, after notifying China that we had made up our minds to do it. Nearly a year ago Congress by joint resolution ex-

pressed its discontent with the existing Treaty, and thus clearly gave notice to the civilized world—if notice were needful—of the desire and intention of our people. In the late action of Congress the opposing proposition—moved as a substitute for the bill to which I gave my support—requested the President to notify the Emperor of China that Chinese emigration is “unsatisfactory and pernicious,” and in effect if he would not modify the treaty as we desired, then the President should notify the Emperor that after January 1, 1880, the United States will “treat the obnoxious stipulations as at an end.” Both propositions—the bill that we passed and the substitute that we rejected—assumed alike the full right to abrogate the Treaty. Whether it were better to abrogate it after last year’s joint resolution, or to inform the Emperor of China directly that if he would not consent to the change “we would make it anyhow,” must be relegated for decision to the schools of taste and etiquette. The first proposition resting on our clear constitutional power seemed to me a better mode of proceeding than to ask the Emperor of China to consent to a modification and informing him at the same time that, whether he consented or not, we would on next New Year’s day treat “the obnoxious stipulation as at an end.” As to the power of Congress to do just what has been done no one will entertain a doubt who examines the whole question. An admirable summary of the right and power is found in an opinion delivered by that eminent jurist, Benjamin R. Curtis, when he was a judge of the United States Supreme Court. Judge Curtis said :

“It cannot be admitted that the only method of escape from a treaty is by the consent of the other party to it or a declaration of war. To refuse to execute a treaty for reasons which approve themselves to the conscientious judgment of a nation is a matter of the utmost gravity; *but the power*

to do so is a prerogative of which no nation can be deprived without deeply affecting its independence. That the people of the United States have deprived their Government of this power I do not believe. That it must reside somewhere, and be applicable to all cases I am convinced, *and I feel no doubt that it belongs to Congress.*"

Seventh. A great deal has been said about the danger to our trade if China should resort to some form of retaliation. The natural and pertinent retaliation is to restrict American emigration to China. Against that we will enter no protest, and should have no right to do so. The talk about China closing her ports to our trade is made only by those who do not understand the question. Last year the total amount of our exports to all Chinese ports outside of Hong Kong was but \$692,000. I have called Hong Kong a Chinese port, but every child knows that it is under British control, and if we were at war with China to-day, Hong-Kong would be as open to us as Liverpool. To speak of China punishing us by suspending trade, is only the suggestion of dense ignorance. We pay China an immense balance in coin, and probably we always shall do it. But if the trade question had the importance which some have erroneously attributed to it, I would not seek its continuance by permitting a vicious emigration of Chinese Coolies. The Bristol merchants cried out that commerce would be ruined if England persisted in destroying the slave trade. But history does not record that England sacrificed her honor by yielding to the cry.

Eighth. The attempt made from different quarters and with different motives, to justify maltreatment of the negro in the South on the same ground that we refuse to receive the Chinese, is signally illogical. If the negro population of this country, domiciled here for two centuries, have no more rights under our Government, and no more

ground for appeal to our protection than the Coolies who are still in China, then allegiance and nationality and "the flag" are worse than meaningless. Observe that this discussion is not in regard to the Chinese now on our shores—for they are entitled to legal protection—but in regard to the countless hordes who may come upon us if we leave the way open. The very class of gentlemen who make this argument are the same who refused to permit the Chinese to be naturalized and to acquire suffrage. In a Republic, with suffrage so general, it is impossible to have with safety a proscribed and disfranchised race. I maintain that those who voted that the Chinese should not be naturalized, voted in effect that they ought not to come here.

Ninth. The enlightened religious sentiment of the Pacific coast views with profound alarm the tendency and effect of unrestricted Chinese emigration. The "pastors and delegates of the Congregational churches of California," a year since expressed their "conviction" that "the Burlingame Treaty ought to be so modified by the General Government as to restrict Chinese emigration." Rev. S. V. Blakeslee, editor of the oldest religious paper on the Pacific coast, spoke thus in an official address :

"Moreover, wealthy English and American companies have organized great money-making plans for bringing millions—it is true—even millions—of these Chinese into our State, and into all parts of the Union; and they have sent out emissaries into China to induce the people, by every true and false story, to migrate here. Already *two hundred and fifty thousand* have come, of whom *one hundred thousand* remain.

"The tendency of all this is tremendously toward evil; toward vice and abomination; toward all opposed to the true spirit of Americanism, and is very dangerous to our morality, to our stability, and to our success as a people and a nation. Millions more of these Chinese must come if not prevented by any legal, or moral, or mobocratic restraint,

increasing incalculably by numbers the evils already existing ; while a spirit of race prejudices and clanship jealousies and a conflict of interests must be developed, portending possible evil beyond all description.”

In regard to the process of converting and Christianizing this people, a missionary, who has been in the field since 1849, testifies that not one in a thousand have even nominally professed a change from heathenism, and that of this small number nearly one-half had been taught in missionary schools in China. The same missionary says, “as they come in still larger numbers they will more effectually support each other in their national peculiarities and vices, become still more confirmed in heathen immorality, with an influence in every respect incalculably bad.” Under what possible sense of duty any American can feel that he promotes Christianity by the process of handing California over to heathenism, is more than I am able to discover.

Tenth. This Chinese question connects itself intimately and inseparably with the labor question. Their emigration is encouraged by some openly, by many secretly, because their labor is cheap. The experiment is a most dangerous one. In a Republic where the man who works carries a ballot in his hands, it will not do for capitalized wealth to legislate for cheap labor. We do not want cheap labor ; we do not want dear labor. We want labor at fair rates ; at rates that shall give the laborer his fair share, and capital its fair share. If more is sought by capital, less will in the end be realized. There is not a laboring-man from the Penobscot to the Sacramento who would not feel aggrieved, outraged, burdened, crushed, by being forced into competition with the labor and the wages of the Chinese Cooly. For one I will never consent by my vote or my voice to drive the intelligent workingmen of America to that competition and that degradation. Mr. Garrison spent the best

years of an honored life in a courageous battle for the freedom and dignity of labor, and for its emancipation from thralldom. I trust he will not lessen the gratitude which the workingmen of America owe him for his noble lead in the past by an effort now to consign them to the humiliation and the poverty inevitably resulting from the competition of Chinese Coolies.

Years ago, Mr. Carlyle said to an American friend, "You will have no trouble in your country so long as you have few people and much land; but when you have much people and little land, your trials will begin." No one connected in any manner with the Government of the Republic can view the situation without grave concern. At least nine large States of the South are disturbed by a race trouble, of which no man is yet wise enough to see the end; the central and largest and wealthiest of our Territories is seized by a polygamous population which flaunts defiance in the face of the general Government; discontent among unemployed thousands has already manifested a spirit of violence, and but recently arrested travel between the Atlantic and Mississippi by armed mobs which defied three States and commanded great trunk lines of railway to cease operations. Practical statesmanship would suggest that the government of the United States has its hands full and that nothing but sheer recklessness will force upon the American population of the Pacific slope the odious contamination of the lowest grade of the Chinese race. It may be attempted; but, in my judgment, it will lead to direful results, in which violence and murders and massacres will be terribly frequent. Let it be proclaimed here and now that the general Government will support and maintain unrestricted emigration of Chinese coolies, and in less than five years a larger military force than the existing army of the United States will be required to keep peace on the Pacific slope.

I feel and know that I am pleading the cause of the free American laborer and of his children and of his children's children. It has been well said that it is the cause of "the house against the hovel; of the comforts of the freeman against the squalor of the slave." It has been charged that my position would arraign labor-saving machinery and condemn it. This answer is not only superficial; it is also absurd. Labor-saving machinery has multiplied the power to pay, has developed new wants, and has continually enlarged the area of labor and constantly advanced the wages of the laborer. But servile toil has always dragged free labor to its lowest level and has stripped it of one muniment after another until it was helpless and hopeless. Whenever that condition comes to the free laborer of America, the Republic of equal rights is gone, and we shall live under the worst of oligarchies—that of mere wealth, whose profit only measures the wretchedness of the unpaid toilsmen that produce it.

CHAPTER XVI.

Four Years, 1876 to 1880.—The Popular Desire for Blaine.—The Approach of the Republican Convention of 1880.—The Candidacy of General Grant.—Senator Conkling's Advocacy of Grant.—The Convention Speech in favor of the Nomination of Blaine.—Enthusiasm.—The Long Contest.—Nomination of Blaine's Next Friend.—Supports Garfield's Nomination.

Four years service in the Senate confirmed Blaine's popularity with the Nation, and wholly killed out the influence of the scandal mongers who so falsely assailed his character in 1876. The people awaited the coming Presidential election of 1880 with confidence, expecting Blaine to be the candidate of the Republican party. Even those who were opposed to him for partisan reasons, predicted his nomination and his election.

But suddenly, as the day drew near for the meeting of the Chicago Convention of 1880, Senator Conkling, the former rival and constant opponent of Blaine, brought forward General Grant as a candidate for a third term. It was an exceedingly shrewd measure if the Senator had in view only the defeat of Blaine. For General Grant was the only man in the Nation whose influence was greater than that of Blaine. General Grant's distinguished services in the war, and the very large and influential body of men who held office under him, when President, and who hoped to do so again, combined a most powerful influence, even if had not received the untiring, energetic support and advocacy of men like Conkling.

The only strong candidate who appeared against Blaine, before the opening of the Convention, was General Grant. One distinguished and loved for his patriotism and success in war. The other distinguished and loved for his patriotism and success in legislating to sustain that war and to preserve the results of its victories. Both men of equal importance to the National life, and each, in his sphere, as patriotic as the other.

The partisans of each became hostile to each other as the contest drew nearer, and often great bitterness was displayed between them.

June 2d, 1880, the Convention met in Chicago, and the excited people eagerly watched every action, and closely criticised every word that was spoken in it.

Hon. George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, was made permanent chairman. Thousands crowded into or surged about the great building in which the Convention held its session, and at every mention of the name of Blaine or Grant, riotous applause shook the building from the dense masses within, and echoed and re-echoed in cheers from without.

When Hon. James F. Joy, of Michigan, nominated Blaine, as the choice of their delegation for the candidate of the Republican party, the uproar was deafening and bewildering. Men seemed wild.

When the first ballot was taken, the ballot stood for General Grant, 304; for Blaine, 284; for Sherman, 93; for Edmunds, 34, and for Windom 10.

Then followed ballot after ballot, amid the most intense excitement. Day after day went by, and a whole week was consumed, in the hardest-fought political battle of the century.

At last human nature became exhausted. Some compromise must be made or adjourn without a choice. Atten-

tion began to turn to Blaine's intimate friend and co-worker in every important measure—James A. Garfield, of Ohio. At last, on the thirty-sixth ballot, and on the seventh day of the Convention, enough of Blaine's friends went over to Garfield to carry the nomination, the friends of Sherman and Edmunds having agreed to combine upon him. The last ballot stood : Garfield, 399 ; Grant, 306 ; Blaine, 42.

Again Blaine accepted the result cheerfully, and at once gave in his adherence to the nomination of Garfield. Politicians said that probably Blaine's name would not appear again before the Convention of the Republican party. But it was apparent, by Blaine's great popularity with the masses of the people and the ovations given him wherever he went, that the time must come when the machinery of party would be compelled to move on the track which the voters in the aggregate desired. The people may be hindered and deceived once or twice, but ultimately their will must be the law.

The selection of Garfield was the next thing to that of Blaine, and so for the time the people acquiesced, and in the turn of events Blaine himself became the "power behind the throne" of Garfield's administration.

During the campaign of 1880 Blaine took an active share in the work, and awakened a tide of enthusiasm wherever he appeared. The "Plumed Knight" became a synonym for "Blaine," and a helmet with a white plume was popularly regarded as an emblem of his life.

CHAPTER XVII.

Garfield Offers the Portfolio of Secretary of State to Blaine.—Blaine's Letter of Acceptance. — The Policy of the New Administration.—Blaine's Letter Defining it.—The Inter-oceanic Canal.—Misunderstanding with Chili.—The Peace Congress.—Bright Hopes for the Future.—Misunderstanding with Conkling.

It is now a matter of accepted history that in November of 1880—after the election—General Garfield decided upon a visit to Washington and Mr. Blaine was in Bangor, Maine. There he received a note from General Garfield appointing an interview in Washington about November 24th. Blaine reached the capital on the 26th, and on the afternoon of that day called upon the President-elect. For two hours they were closeted without interruption from a single person. At this conference General Garfield without reservation, tendered the State Department to Blaine. When Blaine had recovered from his surprise he replied : "General, I was hardly prepared for this tender on your part. I do not know how to make answer. I would like some time for reflection and consultation, and in the mean time I will advise you." General Garfield then and there urged Mr. Blaine to accept, but he made no binding answer at the time. Subsequently Mr. Blaine had a conference with his closest friends, and the weight of their testimony was that he should accept the place. Said he : "Gentlemen, I am inclined to accept General Garfield's offer ; but meanwhile I will for a very short period still further hold it under advisement." After this

conference with his friends the fact that General Garfield had offered the Senator the Secretaryship of State was communicated to one or two of Senator Blaine's confidential friends, and he said : "If the sentiment of the country endorses the selection General Garfield has made, I will accept the office. Otherwise not." Early in December the announcement was made in one or two newspapers, directly and absolutely, that Senator Blaine had been invited by General Garfield to take the State Department. It soon became accepted as a fact. The universal expression of newspaper opinion was that the selection was a good one. Thereupon Blaine wrote the following letter of acceptance :

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20, 1880.

MY DEAR GARFIELD : Your generous invitation to enter your Cabinet as Secretary of State has been under consideration for more than three weeks. The thought had really never occurred to my mind until at our late conference you presented it with such cogent arguments in its favor and with such warmth of personal friendship in aid of your kind offer.

I know that an early answer is desirable, and I have waited only long enough to consider the subject in all its bearings, and to make up my mind, definitely and conclusively. I now say to you, in the same cordial spirit in which you have invited me, that I accept the position.

It is no affectation for me to add that I make this decision, not for the honor of the promotion it gives me in the public service, but because I think I can be useful to the country and to the party ; useful to you as the responsible leader of the party and the great head of the Government.

I am influenced somewhat, perhaps, by the shower of letters I have received urging me to accept, written to me in consequence of the mere unauthorized newspaper report

that you had been pleased to offer me the place. While I have received these letters from all sections of the Union, I have been especially pleased and even surprised at the cordial and widely extended feeling in my favor throughout New-England, where I had expected to encounter local jealousy and perhaps rival aspiration.

In our new relation I shall give all that I am and all that I can hope to be, freely and joyfully, to your service. You need no pledge of my loyalty in heart and in act. I should be false to myself did I not prove true both to the great trust you confide to me and to your own personal and political fortunes in the present and in the future. Your Administration must be made brilliantly successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people, not at all directing its energies for re-election, and yet compelling that result by the logic of events and by the imperious necessities of the situation.

To that most desirable consummation I feel that, next to yourself, I can possibly contribute as much influence as any other one man. I say this not from egotism or vain glory, but merely as a deduction from a plain analysis of the political forces which have been at work in the country for five years past, and which have been significantly shown in two great National Conventions. I accept it as one of the happiest circumstances connected with this affair that in allying my political fortunes with yours—or rather for the time merging mine in yours—my heart goes with my head, and that I carry to you not only political support but personal and devoted friendship. I can but regard it as somewhat remarkable that two men of the same age, entering Congress at the same time, influenced by the same aims and cherishing the same ambitions, should never, for a single moment in eighteen years of close intimacy, have had a misunderstanding or a coolness, and that our friendship has

steadily grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength.

It is this fact which has led me to the conclusion embodied in this letter ; for however much, my dear Garfield, I might admire you as a statesman, I would not enter your Cabinet if I did not believe in you as a man and love you as a friend. Always faithfully yours,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

In accordance with this understanding Blaine resigned his seat in the Senate and took his place March 4th, 1881, at the head of Garfield's Cabinet.

The Cabinet consisted of Hon. William Windom, Secretary of the Treasury ; Hon. Wayne McVeagh, Attorney General ; Robert T. Lincoln, Secretary of War ; Hon. William H. Hunt, Secretary of the Navy ; Hon. Samuel J. Kirkwood, Secretary of the Interior, and Hon. Thomas L. James, Postmaster General.

The administration of the Government at once showed the presence of stronger hands. The easy policy of Mr. Hayes was replaced with the vigorous yet careful policy of General Garfield. The whole people felt the new life, as passengers on a ship become sensible of a stronger and steadier hand at the wheel. Not a violent wrenching nor a wild driving, but a sure and straight-forward course. A dignified Government having the dignity and strength of character becoming a great Nation.

In all the internal affairs of the nation, the policy of the Government had a pleasing effect. A sense of stability and a prophecy of growth and permanency accompanied the President's financial policy and his administration of the business connected with the collections of the Nation's revenue. Blaine's personal influence was felt everywhere in the Government ; but in the foreign policy of the Government

he was almost solely responsible, as the President deferred greatly to his advice. Unfortunately for the administration, especially as it had too short a time before the President's death to correct the false impression the error made, some dispatches to the United States Minister to Chili were misunderstood by the recipient and he made demands and suggestions which Blaine could not and would not support.

The best exposition of the foreign policy which caused no little discussion at the time, was given by Blaine himself in a letter to a Chicago magazine, wherein he said :

AUGUSTA, MAINE, September 1, 1882.

The foreign policy of President Garfield's Administration had two principal objects in view : First, to bring about peace and prevent future wars in North and South America ; second, to cultivate such friendly commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States by supplying those fabrics in which we are abundantly able to compete with the manufacturing nations of Europe.

To attain the second object the first must be accomplished. It would be idle to attempt the development and enlargement of our trade with the countries of North and South America if that trade were liable at any unforeseen moment to be violently interrupted by such wars as that which for three years has engrossed and almost engulfed Chili, Peru and Bolivia ; as that which was barely averted by the friendly offices of the United States between Chili and the Argentine Republic ; as that which has been postponed by the same good offices, but not decisively abandoned, between Mexico and Guatemala ; as that which is threatened between Brazil and Uruguay ; as that which is even now foreshadowed between Brazil and the Argentine States. Peace is essential to commerce, is the very life of honest trade, is the solid basis of international prosperity ; and yet there is no part of

the world where a resort to arms is so prompt as in the Spanish American republics. Those republics have grown out of the old colonial divisions, formed from capricious grants to favorites by royal charter, and their boundaries are in many cases not clearly defined, and consequently afford the basis of continual disputes, breaking forth too often in open war. To induce the Spanish American States to adopt some peaceful mode of adjusting their frequently recurring contentions was regarded by the late President as one of the most honorable and useful ends to which the diplomacy of the United States could contribute—useful especially to those States by securing permanent peace within all their borders, and useful to our own country by affording a coveted opportunity for extending its commerce and securing enlarged fields for our products and manufactures.

Instead of friendly intervention here and there, patching up a treaty between two countries to-day, securing a truce between two others to-morrow, it was apparent to the President that a more comprehensive plan should be adopted if war were to cease in the Western Hemisphere. It was evident that certain European Powers had in the past been interested in promoting strife between the Spanish-American countries and might be so interested in the future, while the interest of the United States was wholly and always on the side of peace with all our American neighbors and peace between them all.

It was therefore the President's belief that mere incidental and partial adjustments failed to attain the desired end, and that a common agreement of peace, permanent in its character and continental in its extents should, if possible, be secured. To effect this end it had been resolved, before the fatal shot of July 2, to invite all the independent Governments of North and South America to meet in a Peace Congress at Washington.

The date to be assigned was the 15th of March, 1882, and the invitations would have been issued directly after the New England tour which the President was not permitted to make. Nearly six months later, on November 22, President Garfield's successor issued the invitations for the Peace Congress in the same spirit and scope, and with the same limitations and restrictions, that had been originally designed.

As soon as the project was understood in South America it received a most cordial approval, and some of the countries, not following the leisurely routine of diplomatic correspondence, made haste to accept the invitation. There can be no doubt that within a brief period all the nations invited would have formally signified their readiness to attend the Congress; but in six weeks after the invitations had gone to the several countries, President Arthur caused them to be recalled, or at least suspended.

The subject was afterward referred to Congress in a special message, in which the President ably vindicated his constitutional right to assemble the Peace Congress, but expressed a desire that the legislative department of the Government should give an opinion upon the expediency of the step before the Congress should be allowed to convene. Meanwhile the nations that received the invitations were in an embarrassing situation, for after they were asked by the President to come, they found that the matter had been reconsidered and referred to another department of the Government. The change was universally accepted as a practical though indirect abandonment of the project, for it was not from the first probable that Congress would take any action whatever upon the subject.

The good will and welcome of the invitation would be destroyed by a long debate in the Senate and House, in which the question would necessarily become intermixed with per-

sonal party politics, and the project would be ultimately wrecked from the same cause and by the same process that destroyed the usefulness of the Panama Congress, more than fifty years ago, when Mr. Clay was Secretary of State. The time for Congressional action would have been after the Peace Conference had closed its labors. The Conference could not agree upon anything that would be binding upon the United States, unless assented to as a treaty by the Senate, or enacted into a law by both branches. The assembling of the Peace Conference, as President Arthur so well demonstrated, was not in derogation of any right or prerogative of the Senate or House. The money necessary for the expenses of the Conference—which would not have exceeded \$10,000—could not, with reason or propriety, have been refused by Congress. If it had been refused, patriotism and philanthropy would have promptly supplied it.

The Spanish-American States are in special need of the help which the Peace Congress would afford them. They require external pressure to keep them from war. When at war they require external pressure to bring them to peace. Their outbreaks are not only frequent, but are sanguinary and sometimes cruel. The inhabitants of those countries are a brave people, belonging to a race that have always been brave, descended of men that have always been proud. They are of hot temper, quick to take affront, ready to avenge a wrong, whether real or fancied. They are at the same time generous and chivalrous, and though tending for years past to estrangement and alienation from us, they would promptly respond to any advance made by the Great Republic of the North, as they have for two generations termed our government. The moral influence upon the Spanish-American people of such an international assembly as the Peace Congress, called by the invitation and meeting under the auspices of the United States,

would have proved beneficent and far-reaching. It would have raised the standard of their civilization. It would have turned their attention to the things of peace; and the continent, whose undeveloped wealth amazed Humboldt, might have had a new life given to it, a new and splendid career opened to its inhabitants.

Such friendly interventions as the proposed Peace Congress, and as the attempt to restore peace between Chili and Peru, fall within the line of both duty and interest on the part of the United States. Nations, like individuals, often require the aid of a common friend to restore relations of amity. Peru and Chili are in deplorable need of a wise and powerful mediator. Though exhausted by war, they are unable to make peace, and, unless they shall be aided by the intervention of a friend, political anarchy and social disorder will come to the conquered, and evils scarcely less serious to the conqueror. Our own Government cannot take the ground that it will not offer friendly intervention to settle troubles between American countries, unless at the same time it freely concedes to European Governments the right of such intervention, and thus consents to a practical destruction of the Monroe doctrine and an unlimited increase of European and monarchical influence on this continent. The late special envoy to Peru and Chili, Mr. Trescot, gives it as his deliberate and published conclusion that if the instructions under which he set out upon his mission had not been revoked, peace between those angry belligerents would have been established as the result of his labors—necessarily to the great benefit of the United States.

If our Government does not resume its efforts to secure peace in South America, some European Government will be forced to perform that friendly office. The United States cannot play between nations the part of the dog in the manger. We must perform the duty of humane intervention our-

selves, or give way to foreign Governments that are willing to accept the responsibility of the great trust, and secure the enhanced influence and numberless advantages resulting from such a philanthropic and beneficent course.

A most significant and important result would have followed the assembling of the Peace Congress. A friendship and an intimacy would have been established between the States of North and South America, which would have demanded and enforced a closer commercial connection. A movement in the near future, as the legitimate outgrowth of assured peace, would, in all probability, have been a great commercial conference at the city of Mexico or Rio Janeiro, whose deliberations would be directed to a better system of trade on the two continents.

To such a conference the Dominion of Canada could properly be asked to send representatives, as that Government is allowed by Great Britain a very large liberty in regulating its commercial relations. In the Peace Congress, to be composed of independent Governments, the Dominion could not have taken any part, and was consequently not invited. From this trade conference of the two continents the United States could hardly have failed to gain great advantages. At present the commercial relations of this country with the Spanish-American countries, both continental and insular, are unsatisfactory and unprofitable; indeed, those relations are absolutely oppressive to the financial interests of the Government and people of the United States. In our current exchanges it requires about \$120,000,000 to pay the balance which Spanish America brings against us every year. This amount is 50 per cent. more than the average annual product of the gold and silver mines of the United States during the past five years. This vast sum does not, of course, go to Spanish America in coin, but it goes across the ocean in coin or its equivalent, to pay

European countries for manufactured articles which they furnish to Spanish America—a large proportion of which should be furnished by the manufacturers of the United States.

At this point of the argument the free trader appears, and declares that our protective tariff destroys our power of competition with European countries, and that if we will abolish protection we shall soon have South American trade. The answer is not sufficient, for to-day there are many articles which we can send to South America and sell as cheaply as European manufacturers can furnish them. It is idle, of course, to make this statement to the genuine apostle of free trade and the implacable enemy of protection, for the great postulate of his argument, the foundation of his creed, is that nothing can be made as cheaply in America as in Europe.

Nevertheless, facts are stubborn, and the hard figures of arithmetic cannot be satisfactorily answered by airy figures of speech. The truth remains that the coarser descriptions of cottons and cotton prints, boots and shoes, ordinary household furniture, harness for draft animals, agricultural implements of all kinds, doors, sashes and blinds, locks, bolts and hinges, silver-ware, plated-ware, wooden-ware, ordinary paper and paper hangings, common vehicles, ordinary window glass and glassware, rubber goods, coal oils, lard oils, kerosenes, white lead, lead pipe, and articles in which lead is a chief component, can be and are produced as cheaply in the United States as in any other part of the world.

The list of such articles might be lengthened by the addition of those classed as "notions," but enough only are given to show that this country would, with proper commercial arrangements, export much more largely than it cannot play be Spanish America.

We must p. relations of the world it does not follow that

mere ability to produce as cheaply as another nation insures a division of an established market, or indeed, any participation in it. France manufactures many articles as cheaply as England—some articles at even less cost. Portugal lies nearer to France than to England, and the expense of transporting the French fabric to the Portuguese market is therefore less than the transportation of the English fabric. And yet Great Britain has almost a monopoly in the trade of Portugal. The same condition applies, though in a less degree, in the trade of Turkey, Syria and Egypt, which England holds to a much greater extent than any of the other European nations that are able to produce the same fabric as cheaply. If it be said in answer that England has special trade relations by treaty with Portugal and special obligations binding the other countries, the ready answer is that she has no more favorable position with regard to those countries than can be readily and easily acquired by the United States with respect to all the countries of America. That end will be reached whenever the United States desires it, and wills it, and is ready to take the steps necessary to secure it.

At present the trade with Spanish America runs so strongly in channels adverse to us, that, besides our inability to furnish manufactured articles, we do not get the profit on our own raw products that are shipped there. Our petroleum reaches most of the Spanish-American ports after twice crossing the Atlantic, paying often a better profit to the European middle-man who handles it than it does to the producer of the oil in the northwestern counties of Pennsylvania. Flour and pork from the West reach Cuba by way of Spain, and though we buy and consume ninety per cent. of the total products of Cuba, almost that proportion of her purchases are made in Europe—made, of course, with money furnished directly from our pockets.

As our exports to Spanish America grow less, as European imports constantly grow larger, the balance against us will show an annual increase, and will continue to exhaust our supply of the precious metals. We are increasing our imports from South America, and the millions we annually pay for coffee, wool, hides, guano, cinchona, caoutchouc, cabinet-woods, dyewoods and other articles, go for the ultimate benefit of European manufacturers, who take the gold from us and send their fabrics to Spanish America. If we could send our fabrics, our gold would stay at home and our general prosperity would be sensibly increased. But so long as we repel Spanish America, so long as we leave her to cultivate intimate relations with Europe alone, so long our trade relations will remain unsatisfactory and even embarrassing.

Those countries sell to us very heavily. They buy from us very lightly. And the amount they bring us in debt each year is larger than the heaviest aggregate balance of trade we ever have against us in the worst of times. The average balance against us for the whole world in the five most adverse years we ever experienced, was about one hundred millions of dollars. This plainly shows that in our European exchanges there is always a balance in our favor, and that our chief deficiency arises from our mal-adjusted commercial relations with Spanish America. It follows that if our Spanish-American trade were placed on a better and more equitable foundation, it would be almost impossible, even in years most unfavorable to us, to bring us in debt to the world.

With such heavy purchases as we are compelled to make from Spanish America, it could hardly be expected that we should be able to adjust the entire account by exports. But the balance against us of one hundred and twenty millions in gold coin is far too large, and in time of stringency is a stand-

ing menace of financial disaster. It should not be forgotten that every million dollars of products of fabrics that we sell in Spanish America is a million dollars in gold saved to our own country. The immediate profit is to the producer and exporter, but the entire country realizes a gain in the ease and affluence of the money market, which is insured by keeping our gold at home. The question involved is so large, the object to be achieved is so great, that no effort on the part of the Government to accomplish it could be too earnest or too long continued.

It is only claimed for the Peace Congress, designed under the administration of Garfield, that it was an important and impressive step on the part of the United States toward closer relationship with our continental neighbors. The present tendency in those countries is toward Europe, and it is a lamentable fact that their people are not so near to us in feeling as they were sixty years ago when they threw off the yoke of Spanish tyranny.

We were then a weak Republic of but ten millions, but we did not hesitate to recognize the independence of the new Governments, even at the risk of war with Spain. Our foreign policy at that time was specially designed to extend our influence in the Western Hemisphere, and the statesmen of that era—the era of DeWitt Clinton and the younger Adams, of Clay and Crawford, of Webster and Calhoun, of Van Buren and Benton, of Jackson and of Edward Livingston—were always courageous in the inspiring measures which they advocated for the expansion of our commercial dominion.

Three-score years have passed. The power of the Republic in many directions has grown beyond all anticipation, but we have relatively lost ground in some great fields of enterprise. We have added thousands of miles to our ocean front, but our commerce has fallen off, and from

ardent friendship with Spanish America we have drifted into indifference, if not into coldness. It is but one step further to reach a condition of positive unfriendliness, which may end in what would be equivalent to a commercial alliance against us.

Already one of the most dangerous of movements—that of a European guaranteed and guardianship of the Inter-oceanic Canal—is suggested and urged upon the great foreign powers by representatives of a South American country. If these tendencies are to be averted, if Spanish-American friendship is to be regained, if the commercial empire that legitimately belongs to us is to be ours, we must not lie idle and witness its transfer to others. If we would re-conquer it, a great first step must be taken. It is the first step that costs. It is also the first step that counts. Can there be suggested a wiser step than the Peace Congress of the two Americas, that was devised under Garfield and had the weight of his great name?

In no event could harm have resulted in the assembling of the Peace Congress. Failure was next to impossible. Success might be regarded as certain. The subject to be discussed was peace, and how it can be permanently preserved in North and South America. The labors of the Congress would have probably ended in a well-digested system of arbitration, under which all troubles between American States could be quickly, effectually and satisfactorily adjusted. Such a consummation would have been worth a great struggle and a great sacrifice. It could have been reached without any struggle, and would have involved no sacrifice. It was within our grasp. It was ours for the asking. It would have been a signal victory of philanthropy over the selfishness of human ambition; a complete triumph of Christian principles, as applied to the affairs of nations. It would have reflected enduring honor on our

new country, and would have imparted a new spirit and a new brotherhood to all America. Nor would its influence beyond the sea have been small. The example of seventeen independent nations solemnly agreeing to abolish the arbitrament of the sword, and to settle every dispute by peaceful methods of adjudication, would have exerted an influence to the utmost confines of civilization, and upon the generations of men yet to come.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

As much has been accomplished for the greatness of nations, and much more that was for their good, by diplomacy as by war. If some general plan had been adopted by a Peace Congress for the arbitration of all difficulties between the powers for mutual advantage in freedom, education, and commerce, the American continent would have been already far in advance of its present position. It was a long step backward when the call for a Peace Congress was countermaned by Secretary Frelinghuysen. The administration took a strong ground in favor of the Monroe Doctrine, and notified the European powers concerned that the proposed Isthmus Canal was a matter subject to American control. It was a wise policy which would save the Nation in the future from vast expense and many wars. Insisting on the right of mankind in the American continent to the control of that continent in season to prevent war is far better than waiting until some European power has tried to seize it and then fight for it.

Garfield and Blaine were both very industrious men personally, and they at once set the subordinate officers at work in earnest, and everything looked bright for the Nation.

The misunderstanding with the South American States of Chili and Peru was in a fair way of settlement through the visit of special envoys, of which Blaine's son, Mr.

Walker Blaine, was one. On the first of July every difficulty seemed in a fair way for amicable adjustment, and the Government wheels were smoothly in motion.

A writer for the New York Tribune gave a digest of Blaine's policy as Secretary of State and its results, which we quote, as showing the opinion of one of America's leading journals upon it :

"It was a pacific policy, and was wholly in accord with



WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

the Monroe Doctrine and the characteristic traditions of American diplomacy.

"President Garfield in his inaugural address had repeated the declaration of his predecessor, that it was 'the right and duty of the United States to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over any interoceanic canal across the isthmus that connects North and South America as will protect our National interests.' This policy, which had

received the direct approval of Congress, was vigorously upheld by Secretary Blaine. The Colombian Republic had proposed to the European Powers to join in a guarantee of the neutrality of the proposed Panama Canal. One of President Garfield's first acts under the advice of Secretary Blaine was to remind the European Governments of the exclusive rights which the United States had secured with the country to be traversed by the interoceanic waterway. These exclusive rights rendered the prior guarantee of the United States Government indispensable, and the Powers were informed that any foreign guarantee would be not only an unnecessary but unfriendly act. As the United States had made in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 a special agreement with Great Britain on this subject, Secretary Blaine supplemented his memorandum to the Powers by a formal proposal for the abrogation of all provisions of that Convention which were not in accord with the guarantees and privileges covenanted for in the compact with the Colombian Republic.

In this State paper, the most elaborate of the series receiving his signature as Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine contended that the operation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty practically conceded to Great Britain the control of any canal which might be constructed in the isthmus, as that Power was required by its insular position and colonial possessions to maintain a naval establishment with which the United States could not compete. As the American Government had bound itself by its engagements in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty not to fight in the isthmus, nor to fortify the mouths of any waterway that might be constructed, the Secretary argued that if any struggle for the control of the canal were to arise, England would have an advantage at the outset which would prove decisive. 'The treaty,' he remarked, 'commands this Government not to use a single regiment of troops to protect its interests in connection with the in-

terooceanic canal, but to surrender the transit to the guardianship and control of the British navy.'

"The logic of this paper was unanswerable from an American point of view. If the Monroe Doctrine be anything more than a tradition, the control of the Panama Canal must not be allowed to pass out of American hands; and since the country having the most powerful navy is the real guardian of the freedom of an interoceanic canal under any system of international guarantees, or in the absence of treaty law, the Panama Canal, as Mr. Blaine said, under the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty would be surrendered, if not in form yet in effect, to the control of Great Britain.

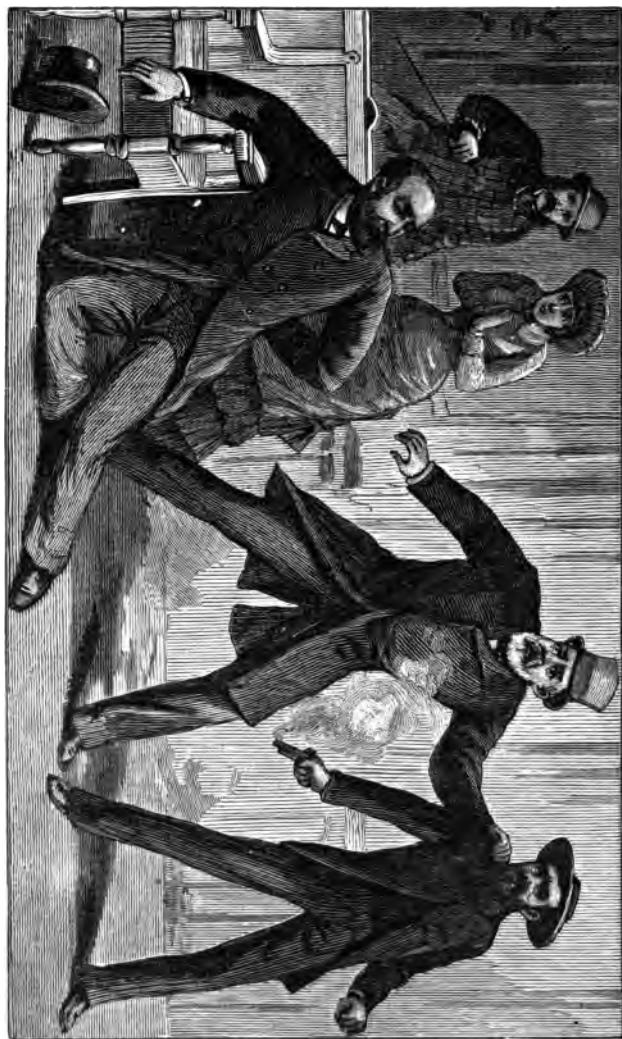
"The war between Chili and Peru had virtually ended with the capture of Lima on January 17, 1881. Pierola, the President, had succeeded in rallying a few followers in the north, and Calderon, assuming the provisional Presidency, had convoked a Congress in the vicinity of Lima. The State Department made strenuous exertions to bring about the conclusion of an early peace between Chili and the two prostrate States which had been crushed in war. The influence of the Government was brought to bear upon victorious Chili in the interest of peace and magnanimity; but owing to an unfortunate misapprehension of Mr. Blaine's instructions, the United States Ministers did not promote the ends of peace. Special envoys were accordingly sent to South America accredited to the three Governments with general instructions which should enable them to bring those belligerent Powers into friendly relations. These envoys were Mr. Trescot and Mr. Walker Blaine, and their mission was to perform a most delicate and important diplomatic duty in the interest of peace. After they had set out from New York Mr. Blaine resigned and Mr. Frelinghuysen reversed the diplomatic policy with such precipitate haste that the envoys on arriving at their destination were in-

formed by the Chilian Minister of Foreign Affairs that their instructions had been countermanded and that their mission was an idle farce. By this extraordinary reversal of diplomatic methods and purposes the influence of the United States Government on the South American coast was reduced to so low a point as to become insignificant. Mr. Blaine's policy had been at once strong and pacific. It was followed by a period of no-policy which enabled Chili to make a conqueror's terms with the conquered and to seize as much territory as pleased its rapacious generals.

The most conspicuous act of Mr. Blaine's administration of the State Department was his invitation to the Peace Congress. This plan had been decided upon before the assassination of President Garfield. The proposition was to invite all the independent Governments of North and South America to meet in a Peace Congress at Washington on March 15, 1882. The representatives of all the minor Governments in this continent were to agree, if possible, upon some comprehensive plan for averting war by means of arbitration and for resisting the intrigues of European diplomacy. Invitations were sent on November 22 with the limitations and restrictions originally designed. Mr. Frelinghuysen lost no time in undermining this Diplomatic Congress, and the meeting never took place. It cannot be doubted that the proposed Congress would have had a most important effect not only in promoting the ends of peace but in stimulating American trade with the Spanish-American States. It was a brilliant conception—a most useful project."

In June a lamentable misunderstanding arose between President Garfield and Senator Conkling about the appointment of a Collector for the Port of New York, which caused considerable gossip through the country, but which caused no great excitement notwithstanding both Senator

Conkling and Senator Platt of New York resigned in a passion and their seats were filled by others. How much of this feeling was due, if any of it, to the position which Blaine held, who had so long been regarded by Conkling as a rival, is not now known. But the effect of the escapade in political circles was transitory and unimportant. The administration was unshaken, and the confidence of the people in it undisturbed.



ASSASSINATION.—BLAINE WITH GARFIELD.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

The Assassination of Garfield.—The President and Blaine Ride to Station.—Blaine Sees the Assassin.—Tries Too Late to Stop the Second Shot.—Assumes the Cares of State.—Vigils at President's Bedside.—The President's Death.—Preparations for the Funeral.—Blaine's Great Funeral Oration.

On Saturday, the second day of July, the President started from the White House for the purpose of taking the train at the Baltimore Station in Washington. He had made an engagement to visit his *Alma Mater*, Williams College, in Western Massachusetts, to fulfill which he now started from his new home. With him, and in the same carriage, was Blaine, who, aside from the fact that he was a constant companion of the President, was intending to take the same train on his way to his home in Maine. Together they alighted from the carriage at the entrance of the commodious station. They then stood for a few minutes engaged in private conversation. Close by them, lurking behind the pillars of the doorway of the station, listening to their conversation, and revolver in hand, stood that satanic assassin, Charles J. Guiteau.

The sound of the gong or call of the conductor of the train warned those in waiting that the train was ready, and the President and Blaine hastened into the waiting-room.

As the President and Secretary of State crossed the waiting-room, two shots were fired from behind, one of which took fatal effect in the President's back. The confusion and dismay which ensued are utterly indescribable, in the midst of which the guilty assassin escaped the vengeance of the crowd by being safely escorted to prison. The history of

the country was changed by that shot and the sad cortège that escorted the wounded President back to the White House seemed to realize the fatal ending.

Then began a vigil such as few men have had the opportunity and, far less, the strength of body and mind to keep. His personal friendship for the President kept him at his side for many hours of the day, while the responsibilities of his position as the practical head of the Government demanded his constant care. The cares of State were greatly increased by the probabilities that the President would die.

Blaine was calm but prompt in his decisions and actions, and disarmed fear, and defeated all who would take advantage of the excitement to advance their own purposes at the expense of the Nation. The affairs of the Nation were administered promptly and safely, and by his direction, during those long and terrible days of suspense. At last, on the 19th of September, in the Seaside cottage at Long Branch, where Blaine had been continually within call, the President died.

The Nation's grief was sincere and deep; but to Blaine it was a terrible sorrow. They had been like brothers, and were peculiarly bound together by social and political ties. Amidst the weeping of a Nation, and in the grief of a heart most sadly stricken, Blaine neglected no duty as the Nation's servant. He officially notified the Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur, of the death of the President, and advised him at once to take the oath of office.

Then came the preparations for the funeral, in which Blaine, as the most intimate friend, was the chief adviser. When the question arose who should represent the Nation in the funeral oration before Congress and the Executive, there could be but one choice. Blaine was the most fitted by nature, experience, and friendship to speak for the Nation.



PRESIDENT GARFIELD DYING, BUT THE COUNTRY IS SAFE WITH SECRETARY OF STATE BLAINE AT THE NATION'S HELM.

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CHAPTER XIX.

Blaine selected by the Government to deliver the Memorial Oration at President Garfield's funeral.—The place.—His manner.—His estimate of Garfield's character.—Garfield's early life.—Garfield's military experience.—Legislative experience.—Career as President.—His death.

When the assassination of President Garfield, in July, 1881, and his lingering death, had excited the people of the country to a degree not known since that sad day when the solemn church bells and minute guns informed the people of Lincoln's death, there was an unusual desire expressed for the highest oratorical tribute within the gift of the nation. In such a time only the best friend of the nation, as well as of Garfield, could be selected without great dissatisfaction. The cities and villages throughout the country were almost universally dressed in mourning, many eloquent men made the martyr's death their theme, and thousands of gifted essayists and poets published their sorrows in beautiful words. But when the stricken people wanted some official, central tribute given, their choice expressed in the action of Congress fell unchallenged upon Blaine.

In the hall of the House of Representatives, Feb. 27th, 1882, and in the presence of the official heads and law-makers of the Republic, Blaine fittingly and tenderly voiced the feelings of the people in the oration which he alone seemed the proper person to deliver. He was the representative of the nation in every sense. The memorial ora-

tion was delivered in a tender and subdued tone which added much to its effectiveness to the listeners.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS.

Mr. President: For the second time in this generation the great departments of the Government of the United States are assembled in the Hall of Representatives to do honor to the memory of a murdered President. Lincoln fell at the close of a mighty struggle in which the passions of men had been deeply stirred. The tragical termination of his great life added but another to the lengthened succession of horrors which had marked so many lintels with the blood of the first-born. GARFIELD was slain in a day of peace, when brother had been reconciled to brother, and when anger and hate had been banished from the land. "Whoever shall hereafter draw the portrait of murder, if he will show it as it has been exhibited where such example was last to have been looked for, let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate. Let him draw, rather, a decorous, smooth-faced, bloodless demon; not so much an example of human nature in its depravity and in its paroxysms of crime, as an infernal being, a fiend in the ordinary display and development of his character."

From the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth till the uprising against Charles I., about twenty thousand emigrants came from old England to New England. As they came in pursuit of intellectual freedom and ecclesiastical independence rather than for worldly honor and profit, the emigration naturally ceased when the contest for religious liberty began in earnest at home. The man who struck his most effective blow for freedom of conscience by sailing for the colonies in 1620 would have been accounted a deserter to leave after 1640. The opportunity had then come on the soil of England for that great contest which established the authority of Parliament, gave religious freedom to the people, sent Charles to the block, and committed to the hands of Oliver Cromwell the supreme executive authority of England. The English emigration was never renewed, and from these twenty thousand men, and from a small emigration from Scotland, from Ireland, and from France, are de-

scended the vast numbers who have New England blood in their veins.

In 1685 the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. scattered to other countries four hundred thousand Protestants, who were among the most intelligent and enterprising of French subjects—merchants of capital, skilled manufacturers and handicraftsmen, superior at the time to all others in Europe. A considerable number of these Huguenot French came to America ; a few landed in New England and became honorably prominent in its history. Their names have in large part become anglicized, or have disappeared, but their blood is traceable in many of the most reputable families, and their fame is perpetuated in honorable memorials and useful institutions.

From these two sources, the English-Puritan and the French-Huguenot, came the late President—his father, Abram Garfield, being descended from the one, and his mother, Eliza Ballou, from the other.

It was good stock on both sides—none better, none braver, none truer. There was in it an inheritance of courage, of manliness, of imperishable love of liberty, of undying adherence to principle. Garfield was proud of his blood ; and, with as much satisfaction as if he were a British nobleman reading his stately ancestral record in Burke's Peerage, he spoke of himself as ninth in descent from those who would not endure the oppression of the Stuarts, and seventh in descent from the brave French Protestants who refused to submit to tyranny even from the Grand Monarque.

General Garfield delighted to dwell on these traits, and, during his only visit to England, he busied himself in searching out every trace of his forefathers in parish registries and on ancient army rolls. Sitting with a friend in the gallery of the House of Commons, one night, after a long day's labor in this field of research, he said, with evident elation, that in every war in which for three centuries patriots of English blood had struck sturdy blows for constitutional government and human liberty, his family had been represented. They were at Marston Moor, at Naseby, and at Preston ; they were at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga, and at Monmouth ; and in his own person had battled for the same great cause in the war which preserved the Union of the States.

His father dying before he was two years old, Garfield's early life was one of privation, but its poverty has been made indelicately and unjustly prominent. Thousands of readers have imagined him as the ragged, starving child, whose reality too often greets the eye in the squalid sections of our large cities. General Garfield's infancy and youth had none of this destitution, none of these pitiful features appealing to the tender heart, and to the open hand, of charity. He was a poor boy in the same sense in which Henry Clay was a poor boy; in which Andrew Jackson was a poor boy; in which Daniel Webster was a poor boy; in the sense in which a large majority of the eminent men of America in all generations have been poor boys. Before a great multitude, in a public speech, Mr. Webster bore this testimony :

"It did not happen to me to be born in a log cabin, but my elder brothers and sisters were born in a log cabin raised amid the snow-drifts of New Hampshire, at a period so early that when the smoke rose first from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them. I love to dwell on the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affections, and the touching narratives and incidents which mingle with all I know of this primitive family abode."

With the requisite change of scene the same words would aptly portray the early days of Garfield. The poverty of the frontier, where all are engaged in a common struggle and where a common sympathy and hearty co-operation lighten the burdens of each, is a very different poverty, different in kind, different in influence and effect, from that conscious and humiliating indigence which is every day forced to contrast itself with neighboring wealth on which it feels a sense of grinding dependence. The poverty of the frontier is indeed no poverty. It is but the beginning of wealth, and has the boundless possibilities of the future always opening before it. No man ever grew up in the agricultural regions of the West, where a house-raising, or even

a corn-husking, is matter of common interest and helpfulness, with any other feeling than that of broad-minded, generous independence. This honorable independence marked the youth of Garfield, as it marks the youth of millions of the best blood and brain now training for the future citizenship and future government of the Republic. Garfield was born heir to land, to the title of freeholder, which has been the patent and passport of self-respect with the Anglo-Saxon race ever since Hengist and Horsa landed on the shores of England. His adventure on the canal—an alternative between that and the deck of a Lake Erie schooner—was a farmer boy's device for earning money, just as the New England lad begins a possibly great career by sailing before the mast on a coasting vessel, or on a merchantman bound to the farther India or to the China seas.

No manly man feels anything of shame in looking back to early struggles with adverse circumstances, and no man feels a worthier pride than when he has conquered the obstacles to his progress. But no one of noble mould desires to be looked upon as having occupied a menial position, as having been repressed by a feeling of inferiority, or as having suffered the evils of poverty until relief was found at the hand of charity. General Garfield's youth presented no hardships which family love and family energy did not overcome, subjected him to no privations which he did not cheerfully accept, and left no memories save those which were recalled with delight, and transmitted with profit and with pride.

Garfield's early opportunities for securing an education were extremely limited, and yet were sufficient to develop in him an intense desire to learn. He could read at three years of age, and each winter he had the advantage of the district school. He read all the books to be found within the circle of his acquaintance ; some of them he got by heart. While yet in childhood he was a constant student of the Bible, and became familiar with its literature. The dignity and earnestness of his speech in his maturer life gave evidence of this early training. At eighteen years of age he was able to teach school, and thenceforward his ambition was to obtain a college education. To this end he bent all his efforts, working in the harvest field, at the carpenter's bench, and in the winter season,

teaching the common schools of the neighborhood. While thus laboriously occupied he found time to prosecute his studies, and was so successful that at twenty-two years of age he was able to enter the junior class at Williams College, then under the presidency of the venerable and honored Mark Hopkins, who in the fullness of his powers, survives the eminent pupil to whom he was of inestimable service.

The history of Garfield's life to this period presents no novel features. He had undoubtedly shown perseverance, self-reliance, self-sacrifice, and ambition—qualities which, be it said for the honor of our country, are everywhere to be found among the young men of America. But from his graduation at Williams onward, to the hour of his tragical death, Garfield's career was eminent and exceptional. Slowly working through his educational period, receiving his diploma when twenty-four years of age, he seemed at one bound to spring into conspicuous and brilliant success. Within six years he was successively President of a College, State Senator of Ohio, Major General of the Army of the United States, and Representative elect to the National Congress. A combination of honors so varied, so elevated, within a period so brief and to a man so young, is without precedent or parallel in the history of the country.

Garfield's army life was begun with no other military knowledge than such as he had hastily gained from books in the few months preceding his march to the field. Stepping from civil life to the head of a regiment, the first order he received when ready to cross the Ohio was to assume command of a brigade, and to operate as an independent force in Eastern Kentucky. His immediate duty was to check the advance of Humphrey Marshall, who was marching down the Big Sandy with the intention of occupying, in connection with other Confederate forces, the entire territory of Kentucky, and of precipitating the State into secession. This was at the close of the year 1861. Seldom, if ever, has a young college professor been thrown into a more embarrassing and discouraging position. He knew just enough of military science, as he expressed it himself, to measure the extent of his ignorance, and with a handful of men he was marching, in rough winter weather, into a

strange country, among a hostile population, to confront a largely superior force under the command of a distinguished graduate of West Point, who had seen active and important service in two preceding wars.

The result of the campaign is matter of history. The skill, the endurance, the extraordinary energy shown by Garfield, the courage he imparted to his men, raw and untried as himself, the measures he adopted to increase his force and to create in the enemy's mind exaggerated estimates of his numbers, bore perfect fruit in the routing of Marshall, the capture of his camp, the dispersion of his force, and the emancipation of an important territory from the control of the rebellion. Coming at the close of a long series of disasters to the Union arms, Garfield's victory had an unusual and extraneous importance, and in the popular judgment elevated the young commander to the rank of a military hero. With less than two thousand men in his entire command, with a mobilized force of only eleven hundred, without cannon, he had met an army of five thousand and defeated them—driving Marshall's forces successively from two strongholds of their own selection, fortified with abundant artillery. Major General Buell, commanding the Department of the Ohio, an experienced and able soldier of the Regular Army, published an order of thanks and congratulation on the brilliant result of the Big Sandy Campaign, which would have turned the head of a less cool and sensible man than Garfield. Buell declared that his services had called into action the highest qualities of a soldier, and President Lincoln supplemented these words of praise by the more substantial reward of a Brigadier General's Commission, to bear date from the day of his decisive victory over Marshall.

The subsequent military career of Garfield fully sustained its brilliant beginning. With his new commission he was assigned to the command of a brigade in the Army of the Ohio, and took part in the second and decisive day's fight on the bloody field of Shiloh. The remainder of the year 1862 was not especially eventful to Garfield, as it was not to the armies with which he was serving. His practical sense was called into exercise in completing the task, assigned him by General Buell, of reconstructing bridges and

re-establishing lines of railway communication for the army. His occupation in this useful but not brilliant field was varied by service on courts-martial of importance, in which department of duty he won a valuable reputation, attracting the notice and securing the approval of the able and eminent Judge Advocate General of the army. This of itself was warrant to honorable fame; for among the great men who in those trying days gave themselves, with entire devotion, to the service of their country, one who brought to that service the ripest learning, the most fervid eloquence, the most varied attainments, who labored with modesty and shunned applause, who in the day of triumph sat reserved and silent and grateful—as Francis Deak in the hour of Hungary's deliverance—was Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, who in his honorable retirement enjoys the respect and veneration of all who love the Union of the States.

Early in 1863 Garfield was assigned to the highly important and responsible post of Chief of Staff to General Rosecrans, then at the head of the Army of the Cumberland. Perhaps in a great military campaign no subordinate officer requires sounder judgment and quicker knowledge of men than the Chief of Staff to the Commanding General. An indiscrete man in such a position can sow more discord, breed more jealousy, and disseminate more strife than any other officer in the entire organization. When General Garfield assumed his new duties he found various troubles already well developed and seriously affecting the value and efficiency of the Army of the Cumberland. The energy, the impartiality, and the tact with which he sought to allay these dissensions, and to discharge the duties of his new and trying position, will always remain one of the most striking proofs of his great versatility. His military duties closed on the memorable field of Chickamauga, a field which, however disastrous to the Union arms, gave to him the occasion of winning imperishable laurels. The very rare distinction was accorded him of a great promotion for bravery on a field that was lost. President Lincoln appointed him a Major General in the Army of the United States for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chickamauga.

The Army of the Cumberland was reorganized under the command of General Thomas, who promptly offered Garfield

one of its divisions. He was extremely desirous to accept the position, but was embarrassed by the fact that he had, a year before, been elected to Congress, and the time when he must take his seat was drawing near. He preferred to remain in the military service, and had within his own breast the largest confidence of success in the wider field which his new rank opened to him. Balancing the arguments on the one side and the other, anxious to determine what was for the best, desirous above all things to do his patriotic duty, he was decisively influenced by the advice of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, both of whom assured him that he could, at that time, be of especial value in the House of Representatives. He resigned his commission of major-general on the 5th day of December, 1863, and took his seat in the House of Representatives on the 7th. He had served two years and four months in the army, and had just completed his thirty-second year.

The Thirty-eighth Congress is pre-eminently entitled in history to the designation of the War Congress. It was elected while the war was flagrant, and every member was chosen upon the issues involved in the continuance of the struggle. The Thirty-seventh Congress had, indeed, legislated to a large extent on war measures, but it was chosen before any one believed that secession of the States would be actually attempted. The magnitude of the work which fell upon its successor was unprecedented, both in respect to the vast sums of money raised for the support of the army and navy, and of the new and extraordinary powers of legislation which it was forced to exercise. Only twenty-four States were represented, and one hundred and eighty-two members were upon its roll. Among these were many distinguished party leaders on both sides, veterans in the public service, with established reputations for ability, and with that skill which comes only from parliamentary experience. Into this assemblage of men Garfield entered without special preparation, and, it might almost be said, unexpectedly. The question of taking command of a division of troops under General Thomas, or taking his seat in Congress, was kept open till the last moment, so late, indeed, that the resignation of his military commission and his appearance in the House were almost contemporaneous. He wore the uni-

form of a major-general of the United States Army on Saturday, and on Monday, in civilian's dress, he answered to the roll-call as a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio.

He was especially fortunate in the constituency which elected him. Descended almost entirely from New England stock, the men of the Ashtabula district were intensely radical on all questions relating to human rights. Well educated, thrifty, thoroughly intelligent in affairs, acutely discerning of character, not quick to bestow confidence, and slow to withdraw it, they were at once the most helpful and most exacting of supporters. Their tenacious trust in men in whom they have once confided is illustrated by the unparalleled fact that Elisha Whittlesey, Joshua R. Giddings, and James A. Garfield represented the district for fifty-four years.

There is no test of a man's ability in any department of public life more severe than service in the House of Representatives; there is no place where so little deference is paid to reputation previously acquired, or to eminence won outside; no place where so little consideration is shown for the feelings or the failures of beginners. What a man gains in the House he gains by sheer force of his own character, and if he loses and falls back he must expect no mercy, and will receive no sympathy. It is a field in which the survival of the strongest is the recognized rule, and where no pretense can deceive and no glamour can mislead. The real man is discovered, his worth is impartially weighed, his rank is irreversibly decreed.

With possibly a single exception, Garfield was the youngest member in the House when he entered, and was but seven years from his college graduation. But he had not been in his seat sixty days before his ability was recognized and his place conceded. He stepped to the front with the confidence of one who belonged there. The house was crowded with strong men of both parties; nineteen of them have since been transferred to the Senate, and many of them have served with distinction in the gubernatorial chairs of their respective States, and on foreign missions of great consequence; but among them all none grew so rapidly, none so firmly, as Garfield. As is said by Trevelyan of

his parliamentary hero, Garfield succeeded "because all the world in concert could not have kept him in the back-ground, and because when once in the front he played his part with a prompt intrepidity and a commanding ease that were but the outward symptoms of the immense reserves of energy on which it was in his power to draw." Indeed, the apparently reserved force which Garfield possessed was one of his great characteristics. He never did so well but that it seemed he could easily have done better. He never expended so much strength but that he appeared to be holding additional power at call. This is one of the happiest and rarest distinctions of an effective debater, and often counts for as much, in persuading an assembly, as the eloquent and elaborate argument.

The great measure of Garfield's fame was filled by his service in the House of Representatives. His military life, illustrated by honorable performance, and rich in promise, was, as he himself felt, prematurely terminated, and necessarily incomplete. Speculation as to what he might have done in a field where the great prizes are so few, cannot be profitable. It is sufficient to say that as a soldier he did his duty bravely; he did it intelligently; he won an enviable fame, and he retired from the service without blot or breath against him. As a lawyer, though admirably equipped for the profession, he can scarcely be said to have entered on its practice. The few efforts he made at the bar were distinguished by the same high order of talent which he exhibited on every field where he was put to the test; and, if a man may be accepted as a competent judge of his own capacities and adaptations, the law was the profession to which Garfield should have devoted himself. But fate ordained otherwise, and his reputation in history will rest largely upon his service in the House of Representatives. That service was exceptionally long. He was nine times consecutively chosen to the House, an honor enjoyed probably by not twenty other Representatives of the more than five thousand who have been elected from the organization of the government to this hour.

As a parliamentary orator, as a debater on an issue squarely joined, where the position had been chosen and the ground laid out, Garfield must be assigned a very high

rank. More, perhaps, than any man with whom he was associated in public life, he gave careful and systematic study to public questions, and he came to every discussion in which he took part with elaborate and complete preparation. He was a steady and indefatigable worker. Those who imagine that talent or genius can supply the place or achieve the results of labor will find no encouragement in Garfield's life. In preliminary work he was apt, rapid, and skillful. He possessed in a high degree the power of readily absorbing ideas and facts, and, like Dr. Johnson, had the art of getting from a book all that was of value in it by a reading apparently so quick and cursory that it seemed like a mere glance at the table of contents. He was a pre-eminently fair and candid man in debate, took no petty advantage, stooped to no unworthy methods, avoided personal allusions, rarely appealed to prejudice, did not seek to inflame passion. He had a quicker eye for the strong point of his adversary than for his weak point, and on his own side he so marshaled his weighty arguments as to make his hearers forget any possible lack in the complete strength of his position. He had a habit of stating his opponent's side with such amplitude of fairness and such liberality of concession that his followers often complained that he was giving his case away. But never in his prolonged participation in the proceedings of the House did he give his case away, or fail in the judgment of competent and impartial listeners to gain the mastery.

These characteristics, which marked Garfield as a great debater, did not, however, make him a great parliamentary leader. A parliamentary leader, as that term is understood wherever free representative government exists, is necessarily and very strictly the organ of his party. An ardent American defined the instinctive warmth of patriotism when he offered the toast, "Our country, always right; but right or wrong, our country." The parliamentary leader who has a body of followers that will do and dare and die for the cause, is one who believes his party always right, but right or wrong, is for his party. No more important or exacting duty devolves upon him than the selection of the field and the time for contest. He must know not merely how to strike, but where to strike and when to strike.

He often skillfully avoids the strength of his opponent's position and scatters confusion in his ranks by attacking an exposed point when really the righteousness of the cause and the strength of logical intrenchment are against him. He conquers often both against the right and the heavy battalions; as when young Charles Fox, in the days of his Toryism, carried the House of Commons against justice, against its immemorial rights, against his own convictions, if, indeed, at that period Fox had convictions, and, in the interest of a corrupt administration, in obedience to a tyranical sovereign, drove Wilkes from the seat to which the electors of Middlesex had chosen him, and installed Luttrell, in defiance not merely of law but of public decency. For an achievement of that kind Garfield was disqualified—disqualified by the texture of his mind, by the honesty of his heart, by his conscience, and by every instinct and aspiration of his nature.

The three most distinguished parliamentary leaders hitherto developed in this country are Mr. Clay, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. They were all men of consummate ability, of great earnestness, of intense personality, differing widely each from the others, and yet with a signal trait in common—the power to command. In the give-and-take of daily discussion, in the art of controlling and consolidating reluctant and refractory followers, in the skill to overcome all forms of opposition, and to meet with competency and courage the varying phases of unlooked-for assault or unsuspected defection, it would be difficult to rank with these a fourth name in all our Congressional history. But of these Mr. Clay was the greatest. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find in the parliamentary annals of the world a parallel to Mr. Clay, in 1841, when at sixty-four years of age he took the control of the Whig party from the President who had received their suffrages, against the power of Webster in the Cabinet, against the eloquence of Choate in the Senate, against the herculean efforts of Caleb Cushing and Henry A. Wise in the House. In unshared leadership, in the pride and plenitude of power, he hurled against John Tyler with deepest scorn the mass of that conquering column which had swept over the land in 1840, and drove his administration to seek shelter behind

the lines of its political foes. Mr. Douglas achieved a victory scarcely less wonderful, when in 1854, against the secret desires of a strong administration, against the wise counsel of the older chiefs, against the conservative instincts and even the moral sense of the country, he forced a reluctant Congress into a repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens in his contests from 1865 to 1868 actually advanced his parliamentary leadership until Congress tied the hands of the President and governed the country by its own will, leaving only perfunctory duties to be discharged by the Executive. With two hundred millions of patronage in his hands at the opening of the contest, aided by the active force of Seward in the Cabinet and the moral power of Chase on the bench, Andrew Johnson could not command the support of one-third in either House against the parliamentary uprising of which Thaddeus Stevens was the animating spirit and the unquestioned leader.

From these three great men Garfield differed radically, differed in the quality of his mind, in temperament, in the form and phase of ambition. He could not do what they did, but he could do what they could not, and in the breadth of his Congressional work he left that which will longer exert a potential influence among men, and which, measured by the severe test of posthumous criticism, will secure a more enduring and more enviable fame.

Those unfamiliar with Garfield's industry, and ignorant of the details of his work, may, in some degree measure them by the annals of Congress. No one of the generation of public men to which he belonged has contributed so much that will prove valuable for future reference. His speeches are numerous, many of them brilliant, all of them well studied, carefully phrased, and exhaustive of the subject under consideration. Collected from the scattered pages of ninety royal octavo volumes of Congressional record, they would present an invaluable compendium of the political events of the most important era through which the National government has ever passed. When the history of this period shall be impartially written, when war legislation, measures of reconstruction, protection of human rights, amendments to the Constitution, maintenance of public

credit, steps toward specie resumption, true theories of revenue, may be reviewed, unsurrounded by prejudice and disconnected from partisanship, the speeches of Garfield will be estimated at their true value, and will be found to comprise a vast magazine of fact and argument, of clear analysis and sound conclusion. Indeed, if no other authority were accessible, his speeches in the House of Representatives from December, 1863, to June, 1880, would give a well-connected history and complete defense of the important legislation of the seventeen eventful years that constitute his parliamentary life. Far beyond that, his speeches would be found to forecast many great measures yet to be completed—measures which he knew were beyond the public opinion of the hour, but which he confidently believed would secure popular approval within the period of his own lifetime and by the aid of his own efforts.

Differing as Garfield does, from the brilliant parliamentary leaders, it is not easy to find his counterpart anywhere in the record of American public life. He, perhaps, more nearly resembles Mr. Seward in his supreme faith in the all-conquering power of a principle. He had the love of learning, and the patient industry of investigation, to which John Quincy Adams owes his prominence and his Presidency. He had some of those ponderous elements of mind which distinguished Mr. Webster, and which, indeed, in all our public life have left the great Massachusetts Senator without an intellectual peer.

In English parliamentary history, as in our own, the leaders in the House of Commons present points of essential difference from Garfield. But some of his methods recall the best features in the strong, independent course of Sir Robert Peel, to whom he had striking resemblances in the type of his mind and in the habit of his speech. He had all of Burke's love for the sublime and the beautiful, with possibly, something of his superabundance. In his faith and his magnanimity, in his power of statement, in his subtle analysis, in his faultless logic, in his love of literature, in his wealth and world of illustration, one is reminded of that great English statesman of to-day, who, confronted with obstacles that would daunt any but the dauntless, reviled by those whom he would relieve as bit-

terly as by those whose supposed rights he is forced to invade, still labors with serene courage for the amelioration of Ireland and for the honor of the English name.

Garfield's nomination to the Presidency, while not predicted or anticipated, was not a surprise to the country. His prominence in Congress, his solid qualities, his wide reputation, strengthened by his then recent election as Senator from Ohio, kept him in the public eye as a man occupying the very highest rank among those entitled to be called statesmen. It was not mere chance that brought him this high honor. "We must," says Mr. Emerson, "reckon success a constitutional trait. If Eric is in robust health and has slept well and is at the top of his condition, and thirty years old at his departure from Greenland, he will steer west and his ships will reach Newfoundland. But take Eric out and put in a stronger and bolder man, and the ships will sail six hundred, one thousand, fifteen hundred miles farther and reach Labrador and New England. There is no chance in results."

As a candidate, Garfield steadily grew in popular favor. He was met with a storm of detraction at the very hour of his nomination, and it continued with increasing volume and momentum until the close of his victorious campaign :

No might nor greatness in mortality
Can censure 'scape; backwounding calumny
The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue?

Under it all he was calm, and strong, and confident ; never lost his self-possession, did no unwise act, spoke no hasty or ill-considered word. Indeed, nothing in his whole life is more remarkable or more creditable than his bearing through those five full months of vituperation—a prolonged agony of trial to a sensitive man, a constant and cruel draft upon the powers of moral endurance. The great mass of these unjust imputations passed unnoticed, and with the general *debris* of the campaign fell into oblivion. But in a few instances the iron entered his soul, and he died with the injury unforgotten if not unforgiven.

One aspect of Garfield's candidacy was unprecedented. Never before, in the history of partisan contests in this

country, had a successful Presidential candidate spoken freely on passing events and current issues. To attempt anything of the kind seemed novel, rash, and even desperate. The older class of voters recalled the unfortunate Alabama letter, in which Mr. Clay was supposed to have signed his political death-warrant. They remembered also the hot-tempered effusion by which General Scott lost a large share of his popularity before his nomination, and the unfortunate speeches which rapidly consumed the remainder. The younger voters had seen Mr. Greeley, in a series of vigorous and original addresses, preparing the pathway for his own defeat. Unmindful of these warnings, unheeding the advice of friends, Garfield spoke to large crowds as he journeyed to and from New York in August, to a great multitude in that city, to delegations and deputations of every kind that called at Mentor during the summer and autumn. With innumerable critics, watchful and eager to catch a phrase that might be turned into odium or ridicule, or a sentence that might be distorted to his own or his party's injury, Garfield did not trip or halt in any one of his seventy speeches. This seems all the more remarkable when it is remembered that he did not write what he said, and yet spoke with such logical consecutiveness of thought and such admirable precision of phrase as to defy the accident of misreport and the malignity of misrepresentation.

In the beginning of his Presidential life Garfield's experience did not yield him pleasure or satisfaction. The duties that engross so large a portion of the President's time were distasteful to him, and were unfavorably contrasted with his legislative work. "I have been dealing all these years with ideas," he impatiently exclaimed one day, "and here I am dealing only with persons. I have been heretofore treating of the fundamental principles of government, and here I am considering all day whether A or B shall be appointed to this or that office." He was earnestly seeking some practical way of correcting the evils arising from the distribution of overgrown and unwieldy patronage—evils always appreciated and often discussed by him, but whose magnitude had been more deeply impressed upon his mind since his accession to the Presidency. Had he lived, a comprehensive improvement in the mode of

appointment and in the tenure of office would have been proposed by him, and, with the aid of Congress, no doubt perfected.

But, while many of the Executive duties were not grateful to him, he was assiduous and conscientious in their discharge. From the very outset he exhibited administrative talent of a high order. He grasped the helm of office with the hand of a master. In this respect, indeed, he constantly surprised many who were most intimately associated with him in the Government, and especially those who had feared that he might be lacking in the executive faculty. His disposition of business was orderly and rapid. His power of analysis, and his skill in classification, enabled him to dispatch a vast mass of detail with singular promptness and ease. His Cabinet meetings were admirably conducted. His clear presentation of official subjects, his well-considered suggestion of topics on which discussion was invited, his quick decision when all had been heard, combined to show a thoroughness of mental training as rare as his natural ability and his facile adaptation to a new and enlarged field of labor.

With perfect comprehension of all the inheritances of the war, with a cool calculation of the obstacles in his way, impelled always by a generous enthusiasm, Garfield conceived that much might be done by his administration towards restoring harmony between the different sections of the Union. He was anxious to go South and speak to the people. As early as April he had ineffectually endeavored to arrange for a trip to Nashville, whither he had been cordially invited, and he was again disappointed a few weeks later to find that he could not go to South Carolina to attend the centennial celebration of the victory of the Cowpens. But for the autumn he definitely counted on being present at three memorable assemblies in the South: the celebration at Yorktown, the opening of the Cotton Exposition at Atlanta, and the meeting of the Army of the Cumberland at Chattanooga. He was already turning over in his mind his address for each occasion, and the three taken together, he said to a friend, gave him the exact scope and verge which he needed. At Yorktown he would have before him the associations of a hundred years that bound the South and the North in the

sacred memory of a common danger and a common victory. At Atlanta he would present the material interests and the industrial development which appealed to the thrift and independence of every household, and which should unite the two sections by the instinct of self-interest and self-defense. At Chattanooga he would revive memories of the war only to show that after all its disaster and all its suffering, the country was stronger and greater, the Union rendered indissoluble, and the future, through the agony and blood of one generation, made brighter and better for all.

Garfield's ambition for the success of his administration was high. With strong caution and conservatism in his nature, he was in no danger of attempting rash experiments or of resorting to the empiricism of statesmanship. But he believed that renewed and closer attention should be given to questions affecting the material interests and commercial prospects of fifty millions of people. He believed that our continental relations, extensive and undeveloped as they are, involved responsibility, and could be cultivated into profitable friendship or be abandoned to harmful indifference or lasting enmity. He believed with equal confidence that an essential forerunner to a new era of national progress must be a feeling of contentment in every section of the Union, and a generous belief that the benefits and burdens of government would be common to all. Himself a conspicuous illustration of what ability and ambition may do under republican institutions, he loved his country with a passion of patriotic devotion, and every waking thought was given to her advancement. He was an American in all his aspirations, and he looked to the destiny and influence of the United States with the philosophic composure of Jefferson and the demonstrative confidence of John Adams.

The political events which disturbed the President's serenity for many weeks before that fateful day in July form an important chapter in his career, and, in his own judgment, involved questions of principle and of right which are vitally essential to the constitutional administration of the Federal Government. It would be out of place here and now to speak the language of controversy; but the events referred to, however they may continue to be source of contention with others, have become, so far as Garfield is concerned,

as much a matter of history as his heroism at Chickamauga or his illustrious service in the House. Detail is not needful, and personal antagonism shall not be rekindled by any word uttered to-day. The motives of those opposing him are not to be here adversely interpreted nor their course harshly characterized. But of the dead President this is to be said, and said because his own speech is forever silenced and he can be no more heard except through the fidelity and love of surviving friends: from the beginning to the end of the controversy he so much deplored, the President was never for one moment actuated by any motive of gain to himself or of loss to others. Least of all men did he harbor revenge, rarely did he even show resentment, and malice was not in his nature. He was congenially employed only in the exchange of good offices and the doing of kindly deeds.

There was not an hour from the beginning of the trouble till the fatal shot entered his body, when the President would not gladly, for the sake of restoring harmony, have retraced any step he had taken if such retracing had merely involved consequences personal to himself. The pride of consistency, or any supposed sense of humiliation that might result from surrendering his position, had not a feather's weight with him. No man was ever less subject to such influences from within or from without. But after most anxious deliberation and the coolest survey of all the circumstances, he solemnly believed that the true prerogatives of the Executive were involved in the issue which had been raised; and that he would be unfaithful to his supreme obligation if he failed to maintain, in all their vigor, the constitutional rights and dignities of his great office. He believed this in all the convictions of conscience when in sound and vigorous health, and he believed it in his suffering and prostration in the last conscious thought which his wearied mind bestowed on the transitory struggles of life.

More than this need not be said. Less than this could not be said. Justice to the dead, the highest obligation that devolves upon the living, demands the declaration that in all the bearings of the subject, actual or possible, the President was content in his mind, justified in his conscience, immovable in his conclusions.

The religious element in Garfield's character was deep

and earnest. In his early youth he espoused the faith of the Disciples, a sect of that great Baptist Communion, which in different ecclesiastical establishments is so numerous and so influential throughout all parts of the United States. But the broadening tendency of his mind and his active spirit of inquiry were early apparent, and carried him beyond the dogmas of sect and the restraints of association. In selecting a college in which to continue his education he rejected Bethany, though presided over by Alexander Campbell, the greatest preacher of his church. His reasons were characteristic: first, that Bethany leaned too heavily towards slavery; and, second, that being himself a Disciple and the son of Disciple parents, he had little acquaintance with people of other beliefs, and he thought it would make him more liberal, quoting his own words, both in his religious and general views, to go into a new circle and be under new influences.

The liberal tendency which he anticipated as the result of wider culture was fully realized. He was emancipated from mere sectarian belief, and with eager interest pushed his investigations in the direction of modern progressive thought. He followed with quickening step in the paths of exploration and speculation so fearlessly trodden by Darwin, by Huxley, by Tyndall, and by other living scientists of the radical and advanced type. His own church, binding its disciples by no formulated creed, but accepting the Old and New Testaments as the word of God, with unbiased liberality of private interpretation, favored, if it did not stimulate, the spirit of investigation. Its members profess with sincerity, and profess only, to be of one mind and one faith with those who immediately followed the Master, and who were first called Christians at Antioch. But however high Garfield reasoned of "fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute," he was never separated from the Church of the Disciples in his affections and in his associations. For him it held the Ark of the Covenant. To him it was the gate of Heaven. The world of religious belief is full of solecisms and contradictions. A philosophic observer declares that men by the thousand will die in defense of a creed whose doctrines they do not comprehend and whose tenets they habitually violate. It is equally true that men by the thou-

sand will cling to church organizations with instinctive and undying fidelity when their belief in maturer years is radically different from that which inspired them as neophytes.

But after this range of speculation, and this latitude of doubt, Garfield came back always with freshness and delight to the simpler instincts of religious faith, which, earliest implanted, longest survive. Not many weeks before his assassination, walking on the banks of the Potomac with a friend, and conversing on those topics of personal religion, concerning which noble natures have an unconquerable reserve, he said that he found the Lord's Prayer and the simple petitions learned in infancy infinitely restful to him, not merely in their stated repetition, but in their casual and frequent recall as he went about the daily duties of life. Certain texts of scripture had a very strong hold on his memory and his heart. He heard, while in Edinburgh some years ago, an eminent Scotch preacher who prefaced his sermon with reading the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, which book had been the subject of careful study with Garfield during all his religious life. He was greatly impressed by the elocution of the preacher, and declared that it had imparted a new and deeper meaning to the majestic utterance of St. Paul. He referred often in after years to that memorable service, and dwelt with exaltation of feeling upon the radiant promise and the assured hope with which the great Apostle of the Gentiles was "persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

The crowning characteristics of General Garfield's religious opinions, as, indeed, of all his opinions, was his liberality. In all things he had charity. Tolerance was of his nature. He respected in others the qualities which he possessed himself—sincerity of conviction and frankness of expression. With him the inquiry was not so much what a man believes, but does he believe it? The lines of his friendship and his confidence encircled men of every creed, and men of no creed, and to the end of his life, on his ever-lengthening list of friends, were to be found the names of a pious Catholic priest and of an honest-minded and gen-

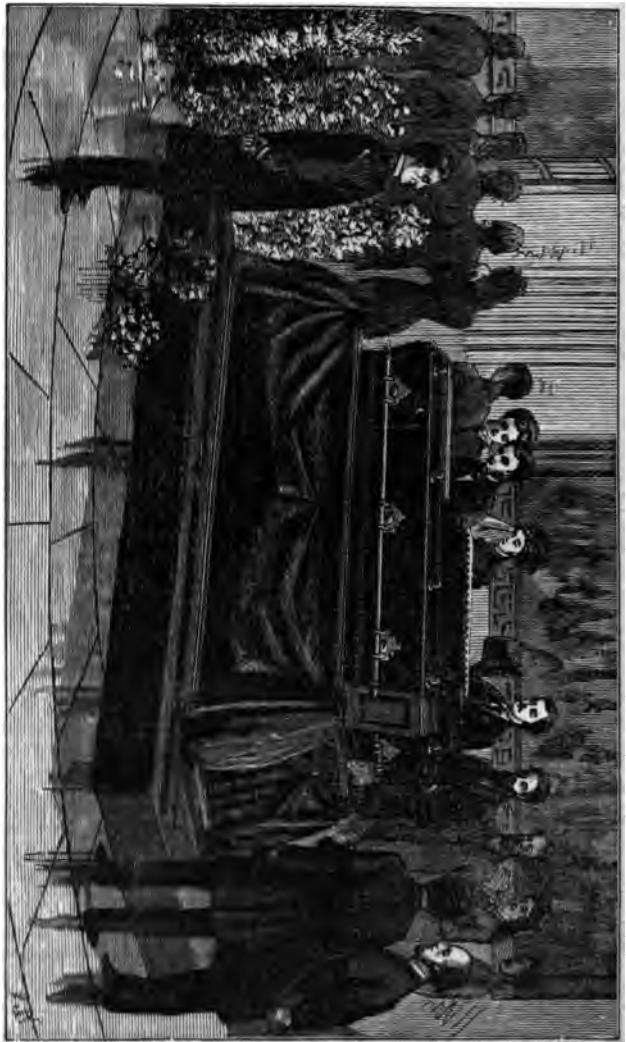
ous-hearted free-thinker. On the morning of Saturday, July second, the President was a contented and happy man—not in an ordinary degree, but joyfully, almost boyishly happy. On his way to the railroad station, to which he drove slowly, in conscious enjoyment of the beautiful morning, with an unwonted sense of leisure and a keen anticipation of pleasure, his talk was all in the grateful and gratulatory vein. He felt that after four months of trial his administration was strong in its grasp of affairs, strong in popular favor, and destined to grow stronger; that grave difficulties confronting him at his inauguration had been safely passed; that trouble lay behind him and not before him; that he was soon to meet the wife whom he loved, now recovering from an illness which had but lately disquieted and at times almost unnerved him; that he was going to his Alma Mater to renew the most cherished associations of his young manhood, and to exchange greetings with those whose deepening interest had followed every step of his upward progress from the day he entered upon his college course until he had attained the loftiest elevation in the gift of his countrymen.

Surely, if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning James A. Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him; no slightest premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident in the years stretching peacefully out before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence, and the grave.

Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interests, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for the one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage, he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell—what brilliant, broken

plans, what baffled, high ambitions, what sundering of strong, warm, manhood's friendships, what bitter rending of sweet household ties! Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full, rich honors of her early toil and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's day of frolic; the fair young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demand. Before him, desolation and great darkness! And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound, and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the center of a nation's love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the wine-press alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the divine decree.

As the end drew near, his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face, tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its far sails, whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a farther shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.



WITH SODOM AND GOMORRAH, THE NATION LIVES ON.
INVITING HELL MEANT THIS TO THE CAPITOL, BUT THE GOVERNMENT INVITES
PRESIDENT CARRINGTON LIVING IN STATE AT THE CAPITOL, BUT THE GOVERNMENT INVITES

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CHAPTER XX.

Blaine Resigns his Seat in the Cabinet.—Blaine's Literary Work.—Twenty Years in Congress.—Residence in Washington.—The Celebrated "Count Out" in Maine.—The Chicago Convention of 1884.—The Enthusiasm at the Mention of Blaine.—The Platform.—Judge West's Speech Placing Blaine in Nomination.—Exciting Scenes.—The First Ballot.—Blaine Nominated on the Fourth Ballot.

For three months after the death of Garfield, Blaine remained in the Cabinet of President Arthur and then resigned his office, as did the other Cabinet officials, to give the new President an opportunity to select such advisers as his personal preferences might dictate.

Once more a private citizen, he turned to a literary task which he had for some years contemplated. That work was the preparation of an accurate and comprehensive history of Congress for the twenty years from Lincoln to Garfield inclusive. To the arrangement of the facts and the writing of such a history he applied himself with that energy and those methodical ways which characterized him in other spheres of life.

In his new and beautiful residence in Washington, which he had just built to his liking, he began this great work. For more than two years he labored zealously in the preparation of the first volume which was published in 1884, and which covered the history of the causes of the war of the rebellion and of the important events connected with that great struggle.

It was a calm, discriminating history.. It was in no sense a partisan document. All parties and all classes were treated with a fairness and a clearness of insight into motives which were remarkable in view of his personal share in the most important of them.

He avoided with a personal modesty nearly all references to himself and his measures. He wrote as an observer would write looking at those important historical events from without. He spoke kindly and appreciatively of those who had been his personal opponents, and was most discriminating in his judgment of the men and the motives of the Democratic party. Not a sign of party prejudice nor political bias appears. Like a disinterested referee he recorded the facts of history plainly, concisely, equitably. It is a most valuable addition to the literature of the world. A most remarkable book by a remarkable man. In that compilation and statement of valuable information the genius of the author showed itself in a surprising degree.

A friend of the author, residing in Augusta, and who was personally cognizant of the facts, has given for publication, the following account of what was known as the Maine State Steal of 1880, which caused the most intense excitement throughout the whole country. Briefly summarized, the facts are these: "The returns of the fall election of 1879, for Governor, county officers, Senators and Representatives, to the Legislature, were submitted to Governor Alonzo Garcelon (Dem.) and his seven fusion councilors, as by law provided. It was their duty to open them, ascertain the result, and officially make notification of the same. Instead of that, they inaugurated and partially carried out a conspiracy to defeat and overthrow the will of the people as expressed at the polls. This they accomplished by manipulating the returns, changing the names and the spelling of the names of the Republican candidates, throwing out the

entire vote of strong Republican strongholds on the strength of these manipulations; by cunningly devised blanks, prepared affidavits, secret protests, and illegal and *ex parte* testimony, they reversed the result of a popular election, and counted in officers who had not been elected. Thus, by these processes, eight Republican Senators were counted out, and eight Democratic and Greenback Senators counted in. The same axe also fell on twenty-nine elected Republicans in the House of Representatives. As elected by the people, the House stood ninety Republicans and sixty-seven Democrats; as reversed by Governor Garcelon and his Council, it stood seventy-eight Democrats, sixty-one Republicans, and twelve vacancies. As elected by the people, the Senate stood nineteen Republicans and twelve Fusionists; when the Governor and Council were through with the returns, the Senate contained twenty Fusionists and eleven Republicans. The Fusionists raised recruits, made the State House an arsenal, and determined to organize their counted-in government at all hazards. In this emergency, Mr. Blaine was summoned from Washington, and the conduct of the people's cause was put into his hands. Councils of the leading men of the State were held at his house, and the result of those conferences would fill page after page of this history. While the voices of the many were for war, and for clearing out the conspirators at the point of the bayonet, Mr. Blaine's was uniformly for peace, and for accomplishing the result by legal and legitimate means.

"The Legislature met on the 7th of January, 1880, the counted-in fusion members, with two or three noted exceptions, appearing and taking the seats belonging to others, and organized both branches to their own liking, the Republican members with the exception of two (who went in for parliamentary purposes) remaining away and refusing to participate. The farce of the organization and the subse-

quent inauguration of bogus "Gov." Smith, was allowed to proceed without interruption, though there were loaded revolvers in the pockets of more than two hundred men present in the hall of the House, and three times that number outside, who were anxiously awaiting the result. Conferences of the Republicans were held twice a day, under the direction and advice of Mr. Blaine, until finally it was decided to take peaceable possession of the State House. This was accordingly done, on the evening of the 12th of January, at which time an organization was effected, the regular officers chosen, and questions which had been prepared under the supervision of Mr. Blaine, submitted to the Supreme Court, inquiring as to the authority of the present body to act. They did not permit the illegal Legislature to again meet in the State House, but the fusionists for a week met in a hall down town; a favorable answer came from the court, declaring the Republican decision the correct one; Gov. Davis was inaugurated; the fusion government melted away in disgrace; most of the really elected Representatives and Senators returned to their allegiance to order and good government; and anarchy and bloodshed were saved by the wise counsels and steady hand of Mr. Blaine, who had the support of the loyal people in the State. As the people of the country in the years to come, review the history of the Maine count-out, they will reckon it worthy to belong to the darkest period of Southern outrages. In all the contests in this State, Mr. Blaine was never more conspicuous in bringing order out of chaos."

Immediately after the settlement of the matter, Blaine returned to Washington.

During the years of devotion to his book, he wholly retired from active political life with the exception of that first given. It is apparent that he considered himself no longer in the field as a candidate for the Presidency. That was

an ambition which was passed and buried so far as he was concerned. A private and happy domestic and literary life was his only purpose.

But the people of the Nation were not as forgetful of him as Nation's often are of the tried and the great of their leaders. The Republic was not ungrateful. The cumbersome machinery which had interfered with their wishes steadily passed into the control of the voting population. The determination to have Blaine for President outliving so many defeats and overcoming so many obstacles, was one of the most surprising things in the history of popular government. Throughout the Nation, North and South, East and West, a quiet spirit of determination prevailed, and as the Spring of 1884 came, he in his seclusion was recalled to mind with no abatement of the old enthusiasm.

As the day of the Republican Convention approached, the determination to make him the candidate of the party grew deeper and stronger. Schemes to prevent it arose as usual. Political obligations and friendly alliances often interfered. But the great people were determined to be heard. They sent their delegates, some instructed to vote only for him and some uninstructed, save to do what was best for the Nation. Yet thousands and thousands awaited with trembling anxiety for the session of the Convention, fearing lest some partisan question or selfish combination should again rob them of their choice. Other candidates, and some of them most excellent and gifted men, appeared, but the heart of the Nation, as represented by the Republican party, was with Blaine.

In all the canvassing and excitement of the days preceding the Convention, Blaine took no part whatever in the matter. He seemed not to care for the great honor and did not expect it. He kept at his work and in no way interfered with or promoted the political designs of the people.

He wholly, absolutely abstained from speaking or acting to influence any man or any vote. Thus retired and unseen, in his quiet mansion at Washington, Blaine worked on at his desk until his friends had assembled at Chicago to do him a great honor and place upon his shoulders a great burden.

Startlingly sublime is the gathering of a controlling party representing at least twenty-five millions of people. It would be a grand spectacle if it were only considered as a body of the most intelligent and influential men in a Nation of fifty millions. For the most gifted in speech, in literature, in invention, in war, in adventure, in commerce and statesmanship gather then in a compact body such as neither legislative halls nor public occasions call together elsewhere. But when we reflect that all this intellect and enthusiasm constructs or controls the affairs of a mighty people, and that the consequences of the Convention's action goes directly into every store, farm, factory, bank, and home, giving plenty or producing want, then every face, speech, and vote awakens the very deepest sensations of joy or alarm.

The political conventions which selected Clay, Jackson, Polk, Lincoln, and Grant, were strikingly important gatherings. But the five millions which were first represented by a National Convention have been multiplied by five or six since that day, and the importance of the event has increased in even a greater proportion.

The spectator at the Chicago Republican Convention, June 3d, 1884, who realized the vast interests therein to be fostered or injured, and how intimately connected with its important action was the individual welfare of every man, woman and child of this vast empire, found his nerves often painfully sensitive to its delays, contests and uncertainty. But out of such gatherings, and out of such scenes good and stable government has come. It is a fierce furnace into

which the greatest characters of the land are ruthlessly thrust and tested by the white heat of political excitement. He that receives the endorsement of such a body of scholars and successful men, must be a man of unusual greatness, remarkable integrity, or hold a masterly influence over the minds of an intelligent people.

The Convention of 1884 was the most notable assembly which the Republican party ever held, in the high character of its representatives. Never had so many names celebrated in literature been seen in one American assembly; never so many men of great wealth; never so many philanthropists; never so many different nationalities, races, and colors.

The first popular Presidential Convention in this country which inaugurated the movement to take the National nominations out of the hands of the Congressional caucuses and State legislatures, was held by the Anti-Masons in 1831. The one hundred and twelve men which met in Baltimore on that occasion were like William Wirt, whom they nominated for President, politically narrow, fanatical and conceited. In fact, only such a body could have burst the iron bands of custom to which the American people were wedded. This free method of selecting candidates is one of the thousand inestimable blessings which fanatics have given to the nation by their erratic schemes and actions.

The National Republican Convention of 1831, which nominated Henry Clay, and founded in fact the great Whig party, was the first really National Convention ever held. It was composed of 157 delegates, who, in a large part, selected themselves and represented a small band of Clay's admirers.

The Baltimore Convention of 1832, which selected Martin Van Buren for Vice President, and endorsed the nomination of Andrew Jackson, was a popular assembly, and ut-

tered in its representative capacity the voice of the people. But it was composed almost entirely of professional politicians.

The Democratic Convention which nominated James K. Polk, in 1844, was an inharmonious body, and again consisted of professional politicians.

But the Whig Convention of 1848, which met in Philadelphia and nominated General Zachary Taylor, probably contained a larger number of "stump orators" and rough soldiers than any body of the kind which ever assembled under one roof in America.

The Democratic Convention of 1852 met at Baltimore, and was by far the ablest assembly in intellectual power and culture which that party has ever called together. It has often been misrepresented by prejudiced historians, but the list of names contains a remarkable array of noble men. It was, however, a very difficult convention to control or lead, and it took the forty-ninth ballot to decide that Franklin Pierce should be their candidate.

The Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, in 1856, was in most remarkable contrast with the convention of 1852, as the Slavery question called out a class of politicians more fierce and less moral. James Buchanan of Pennsylvania was nominated.

The National Republican Convention of 1860, was a representative assembly of the elements in the Nation opposed to slavery, and was largely composed of great-hearted philanthropists, with some narrow-minded fanatics, and a few broad and experienced statesmen. Such men as Seward, Lincoln, Chase, Cameron, Fremont, and Sumner, have given the Convention a name in history such as few will ever again equal, but the mass of the assembly were selected for their fiery and often inconsiderate opposition to slavery, and were imitators in speech, of John Brown in

action. Good men they were, but wild, and often wholly reckless. Now that we calmly view them through a quarter of a century of bitter experience, we see that all the blood-shed and waste of capital might have been saved and slavery abolished with better effect upon the negroes themselves, had men been less excitable, better informed, and more generous.

The nominating Convention of 1864, which renominated Abraham Lincoln, had in its ranks more of the mechanics, farmers, and working classes, than any previous convention, and was the best representation of the actual wants of the constituency than any previous convention. Every citizen was then interested in politics, and made his influence felt.

In 1868 and 1872, the Conventions which nominated General Grant, were, in a great part, composed of Union soldiers, and everywhere in the Republican councils, the influence of the soldiers prevailed. This was especially the case in the Southern States, where many of the whites were disfranchised, and negroes voted in caucuses as their liberators desired. The Convention of 1876, which nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, was marked as a gathering of politicians, and called together three remarkable factions, adhering respectively to James G. Blaine, Oliver P. Morton, and Benjamin H. Bristow. The primary caucuses were manipulated and controlled by one faction or the other, and so bitter was their opposition to each other that a compromise on R. B. Hayes was the only expedient course. The Convention of 1880, was much like its predecessor in the attendance of professional caucus managers and politicians, called out by the excitement over the attempt of one faction to nominate General U. S. Grant for a third term, and of another faction to nominate James G. Blaine. It was a misfortune to both of these great men that they were supported by such excitable politicians. They were both beloved and honored by the

people of the country, and either, if nominated, would have been triumphantly elected. But a weary convention on the thirty-sixth ballot compromised upon that second of our presidential martyrs, James A. Garfield.

But the Convention of 1884 was the most complete representation of the best men of the Nation which have been found in any such gathering. The most stable and honored of the men of 1860, the bravest soldiers, the ablest statesmen, the keenest thinkers, and the most cultivated scholars were brought to the front, because of the absence of any unusual factional strife, and a general determination throughout the country to deliberately do that which was for the best of the Nation, without regard to personal friendship or local pride.

There was much enthusiasm, but scarce a trace of bitterness, or of that reckless determination to win or to destroy, which has been often displayed in nominating conventions. It was a sublime thing to see the great Exposition Building crowded in every nook with men and women, watching, with almost breathless anxiety, every movement, and rising into wild excitement, or settling into oppressive stillness, at those moments big with fate, when the weal or woe of so many people trembled in the balance.

Senator Edmunds of Vermont, Senator Logan of Illinois, General Hawley of Connecticut, each had their vigorous adherents. But the principal candidates were James G. Blaine and President Arthur. Between the followers of these two men there was a most exciting rivalry. The suspense was so great that some persons fainted at the critical moments during the speaking and the balloting.

The Convention met in the Exposition building at Chicago, June 3d, and organized by the election of Hon. John R. Lynch of Mississippi, a colored man, for temporary chairman, and after the usual opening reports of committees,

adopted the platform and elected Hon. John B. Henderson of Missouri, as permanent chairman. The platform adopted contained the following articles :

The Republicans of the United States, in Convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent—the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and the equality of all men; for a united nation assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished success in war and in peace has endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen. It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people; the largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people.

THE TARIFF PLANK.

We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for "revenue only" but

that, in raising the requisite revenues for the government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economical system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest; the Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great, productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool, in view that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of the international standard, which shall fix for all, the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the states, is one of the most important prerogatives of the general Government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-state commerce. The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railroads alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

PROTECTION TO LABOR.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed.

We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and in a desire that all men may be free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our working men in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law—to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers of free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil.

We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no

attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions to all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Arrears act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge and not with the date of the application.

REGARDING A FOREIGN POLICY.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which shall give the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in America, and the policy which seeks peace can trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere. We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce, and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the territories should be made from the bona fide citizens and residents of the territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities if possible, and by the military if need be.

DENOUNCING SOUTHERN OUTRAGES.

The people of the United States in their organized capacity constitute a nation and not a mere confederacy of states. The National government is supreme in the sphere of its national duty, but the states have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded

with jealous care so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate. The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count and a correct return. We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democratic party in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruit of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession and exercise of all civil and political rights.

When chairman Henderson, during his address on taking the chair, made a casual reference to Blaine, although he did not use his name, the feeling of the people was at once displayed by the most extravagant demonstrations. One who was present published a description of the scene in the Daily Press of Philadelphia, in which he said :

The chairman said : "Maine has her honored favorite, whose splendid abilities and personal qualities have endeared him to the hearts of his friends and the brilliancy of whose genius challenges the admiration of all."

Before the words were fairly out of the chairman's mouth the Pennsylvanians on the front row began to cheer. The faint opening applause extended and swelled until, from the rear of the stage to the end of the hall, a hoarse reverberating roar arose and echoed from end to end of the building and outside, until the noise was audible above the bustle of street traffic two blocks away.

The first wild burst of enthusiasm only added fuel to the flame, and a second great, spontaneous, full-hearted cheer rose from the floor to the rafters and fairly shook the structure.

Then followed a scene seldom witnessed in any public body, and never equaled in National Conventions of late years. The delegates, alternates and spectators rose to their feet as by a common impulse and testified their admiration of the people's candidate. Cheers, shouts, sharp screams and animated howling broke upon the Convention with appalling force.

Men tossed their hats in the air, waved pocket-handkerchiefs, shook their canes, mounted chairs, leaped back and forth in the aisles, and acted like madmen. The New York delegation, excepting a few Edmunds men, was on its feet, screaming as loudly as the Pennsylvanians, while Ohio and Illinois contributed liberally to the racket.

The tremendous burst of enthusiasm carried away the colored brethren, and they screamed with true Methodistic camp-meeting fervor. Exhausted at last, the noise abated only to be again renewed with fresh force. Four times the Convention rose to its feet, and four times did the vast assemblage exhaust itself in noise.

When the hour came at the evening session of June 5th for the nomination of candidates, Judge West of Ohio, an eloquent but blind old man, was led to the stand amid indescribable applause. His speech, like that of Col. Ingersoll, will outlive the occasion as a specimen of America's finest oratory. Judge West said :

As a delegate in the Chicago Convention of 1860 the proudest service of my life was performed by voting for the nomination of that inspired emancipator, the first Republican President of the United States. [Applause.] Four and twenty years of the grandest history in recorded times have distinguished the ascendancy of the Republican party. The skies have lowered and reverses have threatened, but our flag is still there, waving above the mansion of the Presidency, not a stain on its folds, not a cloud on its glory. Whether it shall maintain that grand ascendancy depends

upon the action of this great council. With bated breath a nation awaits the result. On it are fixed the eyes of twenty millions of Republican freemen in the North. On it, or to it, rather, are stretched forth the imploring hands of ten millions of political bondmen of the South, [applause] while above, from the portals of light, is looking down the spirit of the immortal martyr who first bore it to victory, bidding to us hail and God speed. [Applause.] Six times, in six campaigns, has that symbol of union, freedom, humanity, and progress, been borne in triumph; sometime by that silent man of destiny, the Wellington of American arms, Ulysses the Great; last by that soldier statesman at whose untimely taking off a nation swelled the funeral cries and wept above great Garfield's grave.

Shall that banner triumph again? Commit it to the bearing of that chief [a voice—"James G. Blaine of Maine," cheers] commit it to the bearing of that chief, the inspiration of whose illustrious character and great name will fire the hearts of our young men, stir the blood of our manhood, and rekindle the fervor of the veterans, and the closing of the seventh campaign will see that holy ensign spanning the sky like a bow of promise. [Cheers.] Political conditions are changed since the accession of the Republican party to power. The mighty issues of the freed and bleeding humanity which convulsed the continent and rocked the Republic, rallied, united, and inspired the forces of patriotism and philanthropy in one consolidated phalanx—these great issues have ceased their contentions. The subordinate issues resulting therefrom are settled and buried away with the dead issues of the past. The arms of the solid South are against us. Not an Electoral gun can be expected from that section. If triumph comes, the Republican States of the North must furnish the conquering battalions. From the farm, the anvil, the loom, from the mines, the workshop and the desk, from the hut of the trapper on the snowy Sierras, from the hut of the fisherman on the banks of the Hudson, must these forces be drawn.

Does not sound political wisdom dictate and demand that a leader shall be given to them whom our people will follow, not as conscripts advancing by funeral marches to certain defeat, but a grand civic hero, whom the souls of the peo-

ple desire, and whom they will follow with all the enthusiasm of volunteers as they sweep on and onward to certain victory—[cheers]—a representative of American manhood—[applause]—a representative of that living Republicanism that demands the amplest, industrial protection and opportunity whereby labor shall be enabled to earn and eat the bread of independent employment, relieved of mendicant competition with pauper Europe or pagan China? [Loud applause.]

In this contention of forces for political dominion, to whom as a candidate shall be intrusted the bearing of our battle flag? Citizens, I am not here to do it, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I do abate one tithe from the just fame, integrity, and public honor of Chester A. Arthur, our President. [Applause.] I abate not one tithe from the just fame and public integrity of George F. Edmunds, [applause] of Joseph R. Hawley, [applause] of John Sherman, [applause] of that grand, old, black eagle of Illinois, [here the speaker was interrupted several moments by prolonged applause] and I am proud to know that these distinguished senators whom I have named have borne like testimony to the public life, the public character, and the public integrity of him whose confirmation by their votes elevated him to the highest office—second in dignity only to the office of the President himself—the first Premiership in the Administration of James A. Garfield. [Applause.] A man who was good enough for these great senatorial rivals to confirm in the high office of the first Premiership of the Republic is good enough for the support of a plain, flesh-and-blood God's people for President. [Loud applause.] Who shall be our candidate? [Cries of "Blaine," "Arthur," and "Logan." A loud voice yelled above the tumult: "Give us Black Jack and we will elect him."] Not the representative of a particular interest or a particular class. Send the great apostle to the country labeled the doctors' candidate, the lawyers' candidate, the Wall-street candidate, and the hand of resurrection would not fathom his November grave. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, he must be a representative of that Republicanism that demands the absolute political as well as personal emancipation and disenthralment of mankind—a rep-

representative of that Republicanism which recognizes the stamp of American citizenship as the passport to every right, privilege, and consideration at home or abroad, whether under the sky of Bismarck, under the palmetto, under the pelican or on the banks of the Mohawk—that Republicanism that regards with dissatisfaction a despotism which under the *sic semper tyrannis* of the Old Dominion annihilates by slaughter popular majorities in the name of Democracy—a Republicanism which while avoiding entangling alliances with foreign powers, will accept insult and humiliation from no Prince, State, Potentate or Sovereignty on earth—a Republicanism as embodied and stated in the platform of principles this day adopted by your Convention. Gentlemen, such a representative Republican, enthroned in the hearts and affections of the people, is James G. Blaine of Maine. His campaign would commence to-morrow, and continue until victory is assured. [Cheers.] There would be no powder burned to fire into the back of leaders. It would only be exploded to illuminate the inauguration. The brazen throats of cannon in yonder square, waiting to herald the result of this Convention, would not have time to cool before his name would be caught up on ten thousand tongues of electric flame. It would sweep down from the old Pine Tree State. It would go over the hills and valleys of New England. It would insure you Connecticut by 10,000 majority. [Applause.] It would weld together with fervent heat the dissensions in New York. [Applause.] It would blaze through the State of Garfield, that daughter of Connecticut, more beautiful than her mother. [Applause.]

Gentlemen of the Convention, it has been said that in making this nomination every other consideration should merge, every other interest be sacrificed, in order and with a view exclusively to secure the Republican vote and carry the State of New York. Gentlemen, the Republican party demands of this Convention a nominee whose inspiration and glorious prestige shall carry the Presidency with or without the State of New York [applause]—that will carry the Legislatures of the several States and avert the sacrifice of the United States Senate; that shall sweep into the tide sufficient Congressional districts to redeem the House of Representatives and restore it to the Republican party.

Gentlemen, three millions of Republicans believe that the man to accomplish this is the *Ajax Telamon* of our party, who made and whose life is a conspicuous part of its glorious history. Through all the conflicts of its progress, from the baptism of blood on the plains of Kansas to the fall of the immortal Garfield, whenever humanity needed succor or freedom needed protection or country a champion, wherever blows fell thickest and fastest, there, in the fore front of the battle, was seen to wave the white plume of James G. Blaine, our Henry of Navarre. Nominate him and the shouts of September victory in Maine will be re-echoed back by the thunders of the October victory in Ohio. Nominate him, and the camp-fires and beacon-lights will illuminate the continent from the Golden Gate to Cleopatra's needle. Nominate him, and the millions who are now in waiting will rally to swell the column of victory that is sweeping on. In the name of a majority of the delegates from the Republican States and their glorious constituencies who must fight this battle, I nominate James G. Blaine of Maine. [Wild applause.]

The most extraordinary scenes followed the delivery of the words which placed Mr. Blaine in nomination. The audience and the Convention caught up the magic word, Blaine. The applause rose and fell like the breakers rushing up on the sands. Again and again it subsided only to burst forth again with increasing strength. A garlanded helmet, with its snow-white plume, was raised from the platform upon the point of a color-standard. A long, loud shout signaled its recognition. Flag after flag was stripped from the decorations of the galleries and waved in the air. One of them slipped from the fingers of its holder, and its heavy standard carried it with crushing effect upon the crowd below. A Republican was struck down in its flight, and was carried unconscious out of the hall.

On Thursday evening, June 5th, the great Convention was prepared to receive the nomination of candidates by the different delegations, and as the different States were called, the names of President Arthur, James G. Blaine, John Sherman, George F. Edmunds, John A. Logan and

Joseph R. Hawley were presented by orators especially selected for that purpose by the friends of each candidate.

The scene during the proceedings whenever Blaine's name was mentioned or suggested, has been graphically described by an eye-witness, but the reality is said to have been beyond description. When the delegations were being called for nominations, State by State, the Clerk called out "Maine," and sank back into his seat, knowing full well the response that would follow. There was an instant, clear, loud, wild burst of applause that seemed to come from the throat of every man in the hall. To describe, in its fullness of enthusiasm, in its spontaneity of sentiment, in its fervor of devotion, the scene that followed—a scene such as was never before witnessed in a National Convention—is well-nigh impossible.

First came the cheer rattling through the hall like a volley of infantry; then deepening as it grew in force, like the roar of cannon, and swelling as it progressed, like the crash of a thunderbolt across the skies. From the stage to the end of the hall, a distance of the eighth of a mile, the cheering, rolling in dense waves of sound, hoarse and shrill, sharp and clear, commingling in a wild tumult of applause, which, in the minds of all who heard it and of those who witnessed the great scene, meant the nomination of James G. Blaine.

With common impulse the audience, delegates and spectators, jumped to their feet. Staid old politicians on the platform, venerable Senators and Representatives, long tried in Congress, new delegates, who were never before in a National Convention, were drawn into the whirlpool of excitement, as straws are sucked into the eddies of the Delaware. Every delegate, save a bare patch here and there on the floor, where the friends of Arthur and Edmunds sat, mounted his chair and took part in the demonstration.

Looking over the human sea from the stage to the balconies, there was a surging mob of men and women waving hats, umbrellas, parasols and flags. Against the dark background a thousand white handkerchiefs swung over the heads of the excited audience, dotted the hall with specks of white, like the caps of the breakers on a stormy sea. Men put their hats on the tops of canes and waved them high over their heads. Women tore their bright fichues and laces from around their snowy necks, and, leaning far forward over the galleries, frantically swung them to and fro, to give emphasis to their shrill screams of joy.

From outside the glass windows under the dome of the hall, where an adventurous crowd of men and boys had gathered to witness the proceedings, loud cat-calls and screams were heard above the roar beneath. Men hung dangerously over the front of the galleries and waved the ends of the banners that had been fastened there as decorations to the hall.

The same graphic writer whose description was published in the Philadelphia Press, portrayed the scene when Judge West, of Ohio, made his speech in nominating Blaine. He said :

The man selected to present Blaine's name to the Convention is blind. He was helped to the platform by two sturdy young men, who carefully guarded his progress up the steep steps and along the tortuous aisles to the seat provided for him on the left of the presiding officer's chair.

Judge West seems to be nearing the goal of three-score and ten. His silver-gray hair was smoothly brushed away from a noble forehead. Time has implanted deep wrinkles and furrows around the sharp features of an intelligent face. White chin whiskers and a white, close-cut mustache hide his mouth and resolute, square-cut chin. A prominent nose and bushy eyebrows give character if they do not add beau-

ty to his countenance. Dressed plainly in black, wearing no ornament save a blue Blaine badge on the lapel of his coat and a small watch chain, the old man leaned back in his arm-chair and faced the surging mob, as, though blind, he felt himself its master.

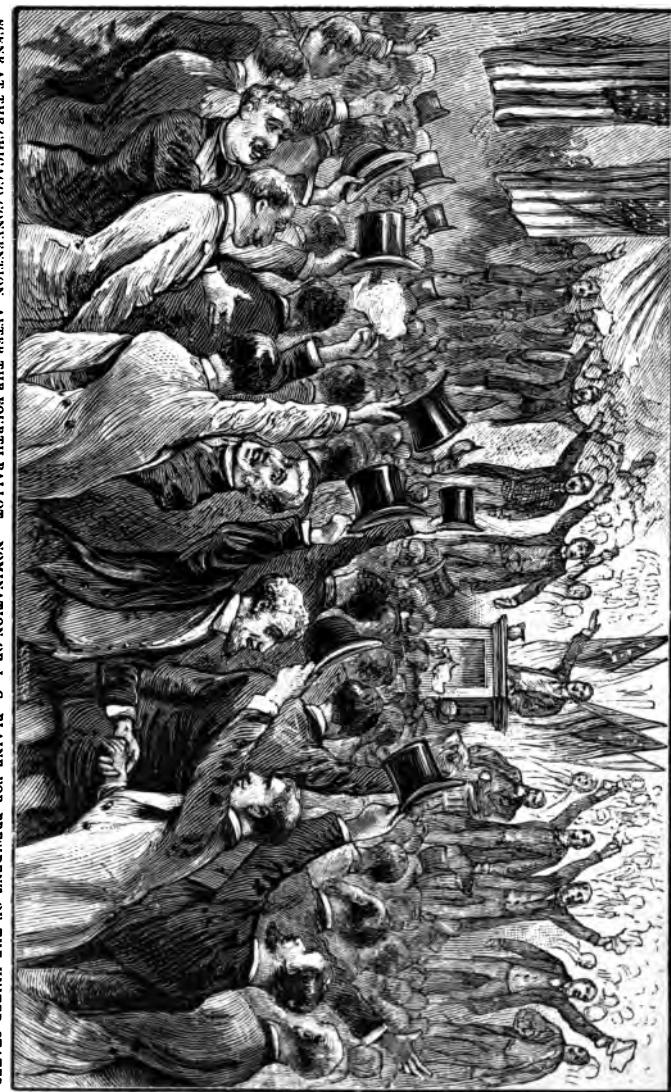
For the last time the applause rolled through the hall and ended in a wild roar as the Ohio orator rose to his feet and, lifting his right hand above his head, by gesture compelled silence. Ten minutes of uproar and storm was followed by stillness in which a whisper could be heard as the first clear, distinct, sharp tones of the speaker rolled through the building. The clean-cut sentences, brilliant delivery and confident manner of the speaker captivated the crowd. They were in sympathy with him from the start, and he retained his grasp upon their feelings to the finish.

As he made point after point in the opening of his speech, roar after roar of applause echoed through the hall. "Shall the Republican party triumph again?" exclaimed the orator after alluding to its victories in the past. "Yes, with James G. Blaine," yelled one of the delegates on the front row, and the audience again leaped forward and gave a tremendous cheer.

"Who shall be our candidate?" shouted Judge West, as leaning back in the chair from which he delivered the greatest part of his speech, he brought a big palm-leaf fan high above his head and seemingly awaited a reply. "Blaine!" "Blaine!" "Blaine!" was the stentorian reply, and another burst of applause put a temporary end to Judge West's speech.

At last the supreme moment came. When Judge West formally put Blaine in nomination a scene followed of a description never equalled and utterly indescribable. Compared to the first outburst, the second ovation to Blaine was as the full burst of a storm after the grumblings of early thunder have passed.





SCENE AT THE CHICAGO CONVENTION, AFTER THE FOURTH BALLOT.—NOMINATION OF J. G. BLAINE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

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in the air. The atmosphere was fanned by the waving of innumerable banners.

The decorations were stripped from the wall by the excited audience and shook madly in the air. Full fifteen minutes, that seemed like hours, were consumed in this unprecedented demonstration.

"James G. Blaine," closed Judge West, and another great roar went up like the noise of many waters, sweeping in great waves of sound around the hall, and the crowd without, by this time aware of what was under way, answered in a muffled roar, which echoed within. The old man ceased, with the echo of his eloquence still filling all the air, ten thousand people swaying like reeds in the wind under his voice, and feebly groped to leave the platform. A friend was at his side in an instant, and Edward McPherson laid about the old man's shoulders his long blue, old-fashioned cloak, and, drawing it closer to him, its folds falling straight, the speaker took a seat behind.

When the session came for balloting, the anxiety was intense, both in the hall and throughout the country. The result of the first ballot was as follows: Blaine 334 1-2, Arthur 278, Edmunds 93, Logan 63 1-2, John Sherman 30, Hawley 13, Lincoln 4, W. T. Sherman 2. The vote stood nearly the same on the second and third ballots. But the fourth ballot, on which Blaine was nominated, stood: Blaine 544, Arthur 207, Edmunds 41, Logan 7, Hawley 15, and Lincoln 2.

General Logan, by telegraph, especially requested his friends to vote for Blaine, and their votes and example secured the victory to Blaine's friends.

The Convention, on the announcement of Blaine's nomination, was a scene of almost insane excitement. Men wept, and screamed, and leaped, and wildly waved flags, handkerchiefs, coats and seats, in the most frantic manner.

CHAPTER XXI.

Blaine at home.—Receiving the News of his Nomination.—His House in Augusta.—His Mother's Death.—His Hospitality.—Personal Description.—Mrs. Blaine.—His Children.—Receiving the California Delegation.—Official Notification of his Nomination.

When Blaine received the news of his nomination, he was at his home in Augusta, Maine. Early in the week he left his Washington residence, with his family, for his home in Augusta. When the important dispatch was handed to him he was resting in a hammock, which was stretched between two interlacing apple-trees, on the lawn before his door. Surprised he certainly was by the news, but all strong emotion was suppressed, and he talked coolly and cheerfully about that and other matters, with the neighbors who came freely into his yard to congratulate him.

Blaine's home in Augusta, where for so many years he has resided, is composed of two commodious square buildings, with a narrower structure between them, connecting them together. The home is not extravagantly furnished, but has all the modern luxuries which make a home really comfortable. Delicate specimens of embroidery, and choice selections of pictures, and works of art, show a refinement and culture, but there is no apparent attempt at display, either of wealth or taste. The house and enclosed grounds are richly shaded with maple-trees, and all the surroundings are after the neat, but unostentatious New England style.



BLAINE AT HOME—UNDER THE APPLE-TREES.—AN OFF-HAND SKETCH.



His home is always open to his neighbors and friends, and they walk into his doors, and intrude upon his time, without restraint. He has been so long in public life, that he seems to regard his possessions as something to be shared with his friends, and has long ago ceased to hope for privacy, such as less-known citizens enjoy.

He has six children, viz : Walker Blaine, of Washington, D. C. ; Emmons Blaine, of Colorado ; Alice Blaine, now the wife of Col. Coppinger ; Margaret Isabella Blaine ; James G. Blaine, Jr., and Harriet S. Blaine. The last three named were living at home, with their father and mother, at the time of Blaine's nomination.

Blaine's mother never made her home with him, but after the breaking up of her home at Brownsville, she went to reside with her daughter, in the West, where she died May 5th, 1871. Her remains were brought back to Brownsville, and buried beside her husband. A few years ago Blaine erected a substantial granite monument over their graves, in the old Catholic churchyard, and had this inscription wrought on one side of the shaft :

EPHRAIM LYON BLAINE,
Born Feb. 28th, 1795,
Died June 28th, 1850.

MARIE GILLESPIE,
Wife of
EPHRAIM LYON BLAINE,
Born May 22d, 1801.
Died May 5th, 1871.
Requiescat in pace.

Blaine is a most social man, and has the dignified, yet agreeable, manner of the good, old, hospitable days among the gentry of Scotland and early New England. Of his

manners and peculiarities, one who knew him, long and well (Mr. Randall), gave a written sketch in 1880, and it applies equally well now. He said: "Mr. Blaine is the most popular of men. The charm of his manner is beyond expression, and nobody comes within the circle of his presence that is not overcome with his fascinations. With his great brilliancy he has that exquisite show of deference to his companions, a sort of appeal to them to verify or deny his words, that is very taking. He is also a very good listener, and has a familiar way of speaking one's name, and of placing his hand on one's knee, that is an agreeable salve to one's vanity. There is no acting in the heartiness of his manner. He is an impulsive man, with a very warm heart, kindly instincts and a generous nature.

One element in his nature impresses itself upon my mind in the most emphatic manner, and that is his coolness and self-possession at the most exciting periods. I happened to be in his library in Washington when the balloting was going on in Cincinnati, on that hot July day in 1876. A telegraph instrument was on his library table, and Mr. Sherman, his private secretary, a deft operator, was manipulating its key. Dispatches came from dozens of friends, giving the last votes, which only lacked a few of a nomination, and everybody predicted the success of Blaine on the next ballot. Only four persons besides Mr. Sherman were in the room. It was a moment of great excitement. The next vote was quietly ticked over the wire, and the next announced the nomination of Mr. Hayes. Mr. Blaine was the only cool person in the apartment.

It was such a reversal of all anticipations and assurances that self-possession was out of the question, except with Mr. Blaine. He had just left his bed after two days of unconsciousness from sunstroke, but he was as self-possessed as the portraits upon the wall. He merely gave a murmur of

surprise, and before anybody had recovered from the shock he had written in his firm, plain, fluent hand, three dispatches—one to Mr. Hayes, of congratulations; one to the Maine delegates, thanking them for their devotion; and another to Eugene Hale and Mr. Frye, asking them to go personally to Columbus and present his good will to Mr. Hayes, with promises of hearty aid in the campaign. The occasion affected him no more than the news of a servant quitting his employ would have done. Half an hour afterwards he was out with Secretary Fish in an open carriage, receiving the cheers of the thousands of people who gathered about the telegraph bulletins.

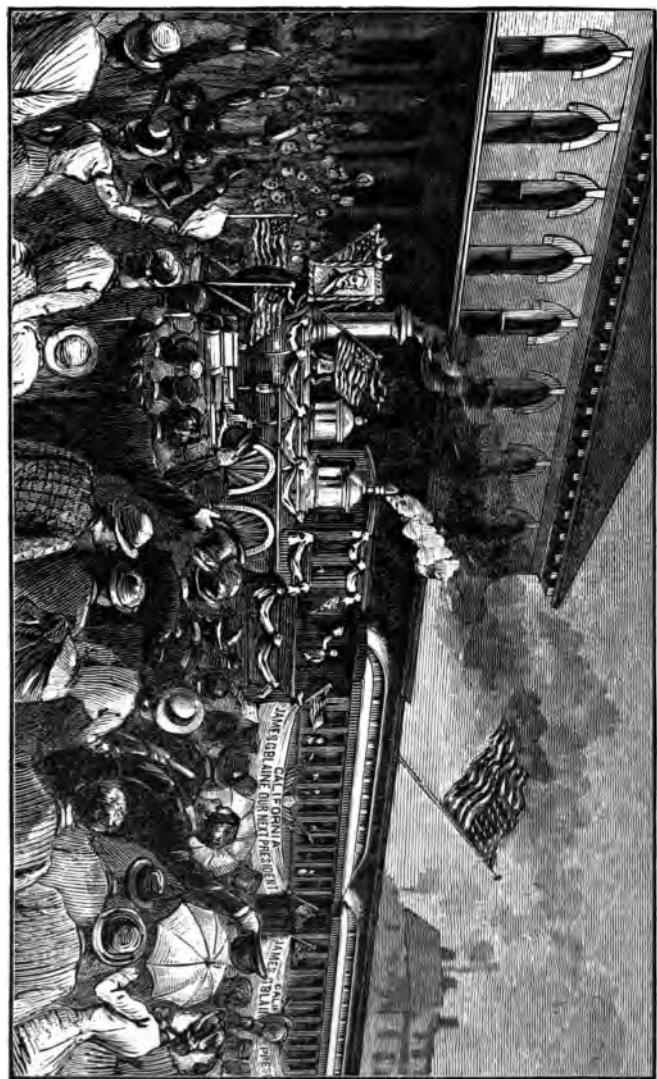
Mr. Blaine's knowledge of facts, dates, events, men in our history, is not only remarkable, but almost unprecedented. In his college days he was noted for his early love of American history, and for his intimate knowledge of its details. That field of reading has been enlarged and cultivated in all his subsequent years, until it would be difficult to find a man in the United States who can, on the instant, without reference to book or note, give so many facts and statistics relating to current interests, to our financial and revenue system, to our manufacturing industries of all kinds, to our river and harbor improvements, to our public lands, to our railway system, to our mines and minerals, to our agricultural interests—in fact, to everything that constitutes and includes the development, achievement, and success of the United States. This has been the study of his life, and his memory is an encyclopædia. He remembers because it is easier than to forget."

When he was a member of Congress a correspondent wrote as follows of Mr. Blaine: "He has grown gray, but he is physically but slightly touched by the passing years. He looks surcharged with tremendous nervous energy, so irresistibly impelling him that the steam-brakes couldn't slow

him down to three hundred revolutions per minute. When there is nothing to work it off it seems to effervesce in boyish exuberance of spirits, or he darts hither and thither across the hall, up and down the aisles, or through the lobby with incessant activity. His habitual air is that of a man intent upon overtaking to-morrow, and driving ahead at such tremendous speed that nobody would be surprised if he did it. Physically he is a splendid type of manhood; of commanding stature, straight as a Maine pine, broad-shouldered and of stalwart, muscular frame, a trifle stout, but with step quick as a boy's, and every movement as free and supple as that of a trained athlete. He has a full, high forehead; large, keen, observant eyes; nose slightly aquiline, and of the sort that adds to the look of a 'push-ahead-ateness' that is imprinted on his every feature. His short, cropped beard, which half conceals his lower face, gives him an air of military precision. In speech he is rapid, but distinct in utterance and clear cut in expression; makes no apparent attempt at rhetorical graces, but is forcible, pungent, and at times stirringly eloquent, while always terse and pointed and marvelously quick at repartees, and when most intense is most master of himself and thoroughly self-poised. He does not seek occasion to speak, but as often as he takes the floor letter-writing and conversation cease and everybody listens, for it is expected he will say something, which expectation he has thus far been very far from disappointing at this session."

Mrs. Blaine is a woman of striking appearance, being as easy yet dignified in manner as her husband. She is tall, graceful and strong, a fit type of a cultured American lady.

Blaine was the recipient of congratulatory dispatches from President Arthur, General Logan, General Longstreet, and thousands of other citizens of the Nation, and for a time the facilities of the telegraph office at Augusta



ARRIVAL IN AUGUSTA OF THE TRAIN BEARING THE PACIFIC COAST DELEGATION.



11

could not care for the dispatches which were addressed to him only.

The following was also received:

"CLEVELAND, OHIO, June 8, 1884.

MRS. JAMES G. BLAINE: The household joins in one great thanksgiving. From the quiet of our home we send a most earnest wish that through the turbulent months to follow, and in the day of victory, you all may be guarded and kept.

"LUCRETIA R. GARFIELD."

A cordial dispatch was also sent by General Garfield's sons.

The citizens of Augusta and the neighboring cities came to his house by the hundreds when they heard of his nomination, and a flood of congratulations in every shape for many days rolled in upon the family.

At the adjournment of the Chicago Convention the California delegation, which had been among the leading promoters of Blaine's nomination, determined to go all the way to Augusta and congratulate Blaine in person.

All along their route, from Illinois to Maine, they were received with enthusiasm, and the press recorded their progress from city to city with the attention granted to princes. When they arrived in Maine the enthusiasm increased, and at every station where the special train stopped crowds of men and enthusiastic shouts bade them welcome. At Augusta they were met at the station by a throng of people, although the day was rainy, and after being joined by long processions from Lewiston and Bangor the people of Augusta escorted the Californians to Blaine's residence, with bands playing and banners flying. They were received by Mr. Blaine, after an introduction by Congressman Boutelle, and were entertained in that simple, gentlemanly, hearty manner which is an indescribable charm with him.

A few days later the Committee of the Convention, consisting of one delegate from each State, with General Henderson as Chairman, made their official visit. Blaine received them on the lawn in front of his house, the day being fine, and there General Henderson officially tendered the nomination of the Republican party for President of the United States. It was a delightful scene to witness, and once seen will not be forgotten.

General Henderson read the letter of notification aloud, which read as follows :

MR. BLAINE :—Your nomination for the office of President of the United States by the National Republican Convention, recently assembled at Chicago, is already known to you.

The gentlemen before you, constituting a committee composed of one member from each State and Territory of the country, and also one from the District of Columbia, now come, as the accredited organ of that Convention, to give you formal notice of that nomination, and to request your acceptance thereof.

It is of course known to you that, beside your own, several other names, among the most honored in the councils of the Republican party, were presented by their friends as candidates for this nomination. Between your friends and the friends of gentlemen, so justly entitled to the respect and confidence of their political associates, the contest was one of generous rivalry, free from the taint of bitterness, and equally free from the reproach of injustice.

At an early stage of the proceedings of the Convention it became manifest that the Republican States, the States whose aid must be invoked at last to insure success to the ticket, earnestly desired your nomination. It was equally manifest that the desire, so earnestly expressed by the delegates from these States, was but the truthful reflection of an

THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT OF THE PACIFIC COAST DELEGATES.





irresistible popular demand. It was not thought nor pretended that this demand had its origin in any ambitious desires of your own, or in the organized work of your friends; but it was recognized to be, what it truthfully is, the spontaneous expression, by a free people of their love and admiration of a chosen leader.

No nomination would have given satisfaction to every member of the party. This is not to be expected in a country so extended in area and so varied in its interests. The nomination of Mr. Lincoln in 1860 disappointed so many fond hopes and overthrew so many cherished ambitions that, for a short time, disaffection threatened to ripen into open revolt.

In 1872 the discontents was so pronounced as to impel large masses of the party into organized opposition to its nominees. For many weeks after the nomination of General Garfield in 1880 defeat seemed to be almost inevitable. In each case the shock of disappointment was followed by the "sober second thought." Individual preferences generally yielded to convictions of public duty. The promptings of patriotism finally rose superior to the irritations and animosities of the hour. The party in every trial has grown stronger in the face of threatened danger.

In tendering you this nomination it gives us pleasure to remember that those great measures which furnish the causes for party congratulation by the late Convention at Chicago and which are now crystallized into the legislation of the country—measures which have strengthened and dignified the Nation, while they have elevated and advanced the people—at all times and on all proper occasions received your earnest and valuable support.

It was your good fortune to aid in protecting the Nation against the assaults of armed treason. You were present and helped to unloose the shackles of the slave. You as-

sisted in placing the new guarantees of freedom in the Federal Constitution. Your voice was potent in preserving the National faith. When false theories of finance would have blasted National and individual prosperity, we kindly remember you as a fast friend of honest money and commercial integrity. In all that pertains to the security and repose of capital, the dignity of labor, the manhood, elevation and freedom of the people, the right of the oppressed to demand, and the duty of the Government to afford protection, your public acts have received the unqualified endorsement of popular approval.

But we are not unmindful of the fact that parties, like individuals, cannot live entirely on the past, however splendid the record. The present is ever charged with its immediate cares ; the future presses on with its new duties, its perplexing responsibilities. Parties, like individuals, however, that are free from the stain of violated faith in the past, are fairly entitled to the presumption of sincerity in their promises for the future.

Among the promises made by the party in its late Convention at Chicago are : Economy and purity of administration ; the protection of the citizen, native and naturalized, at home and abroad ; the prompt restoration of the navy ; a wise reduction of surplus revenues, "relieving the taxpayer without injuring the laborer;" the preservation of the public lands for actual settlers ; impost duties, when necessary at all, to be levied, not for "revenue only," but for the double purpose of revenue and protection ; the regulation of internal commerce ; the settlement of international differences by peaceful arbitration, but coupled with the reassertion and maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine as interpreted by the Father of the Republic ; perseverance in the good work of civil service reform, "to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of offi-

cial patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided ;" honest currency, based on coin of intrinsic value, adding strength to public credit, and giving renewed vitality to every branch of American industry.

Mr. Blaine, during the last twenty-three years the Republican party has builded a new Republic—a Republic far more splendid than that originally designed by our fathers. Its proportions already grand may yet be enlarged. Its foundations may yet be strengthened, and its columns be adorned with a beauty more resplendent still. To you as its architect-in-chief will soon be assigned this grateful work.

Blaine responded as follows :

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the National Committee.

I receive not without deep sensibility your official notice of the action of the National Convention already brought to my knowledge through the public press. I appreciate more profoundly than I can express the honor which is implied in a nomination for the Presidency by the Republican party of the Nation—speaking through the authoritative voice of duly accredited delegates. To be selected as a candidate by such an assemblage from the list of eminent statesmen whose names were presented, fills me with embarrassment. I can only express my gratitude for so signal an honor and my earnest desire to prove worthy of the great trust reposed in me.

In accepting the nomination, as I now do, I am impressed, I might almost say oppressed, with a sense of the labor and responsibility which attach to my position. The burden is lightened, however, by the hosts of earnest men who support my candidacy, many of whom add—as does your honorable committee—the cheer of personal friendship to the pledge of political fealty.

A more formal acceptance will naturally be expected and



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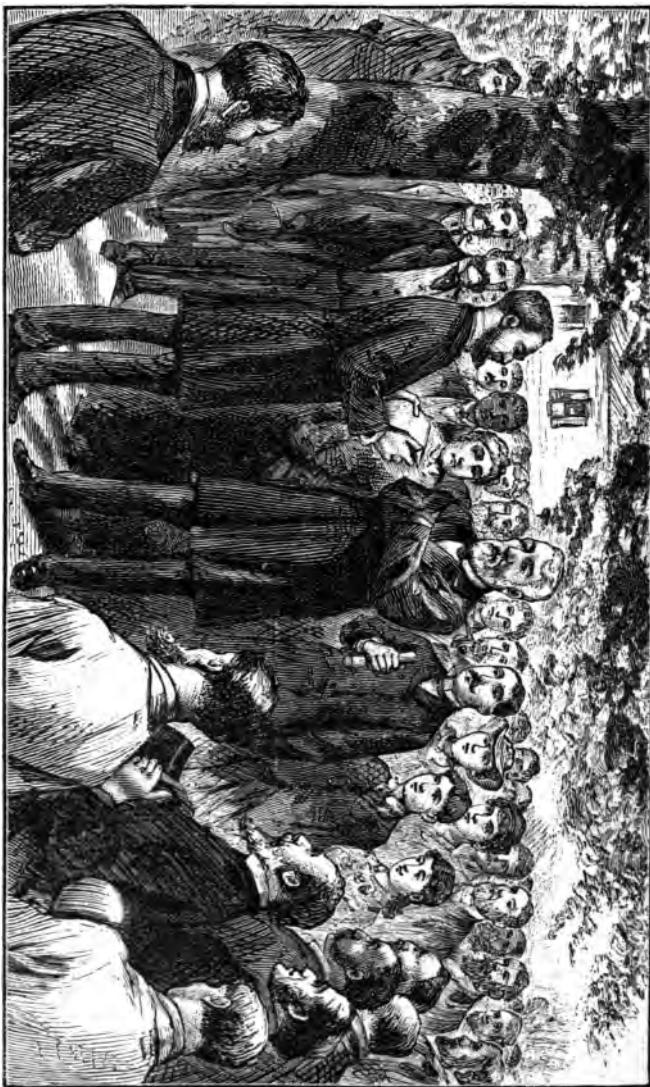
A more formal acceptance will naturally be expected and

will in due season be communicated. It may, however, not be inappropriate at this time to say that I have already made careful study of the principles announced by the National Convention, and that in the whole and in detail they have my heartiest sympathy and meet my unqualified approval.

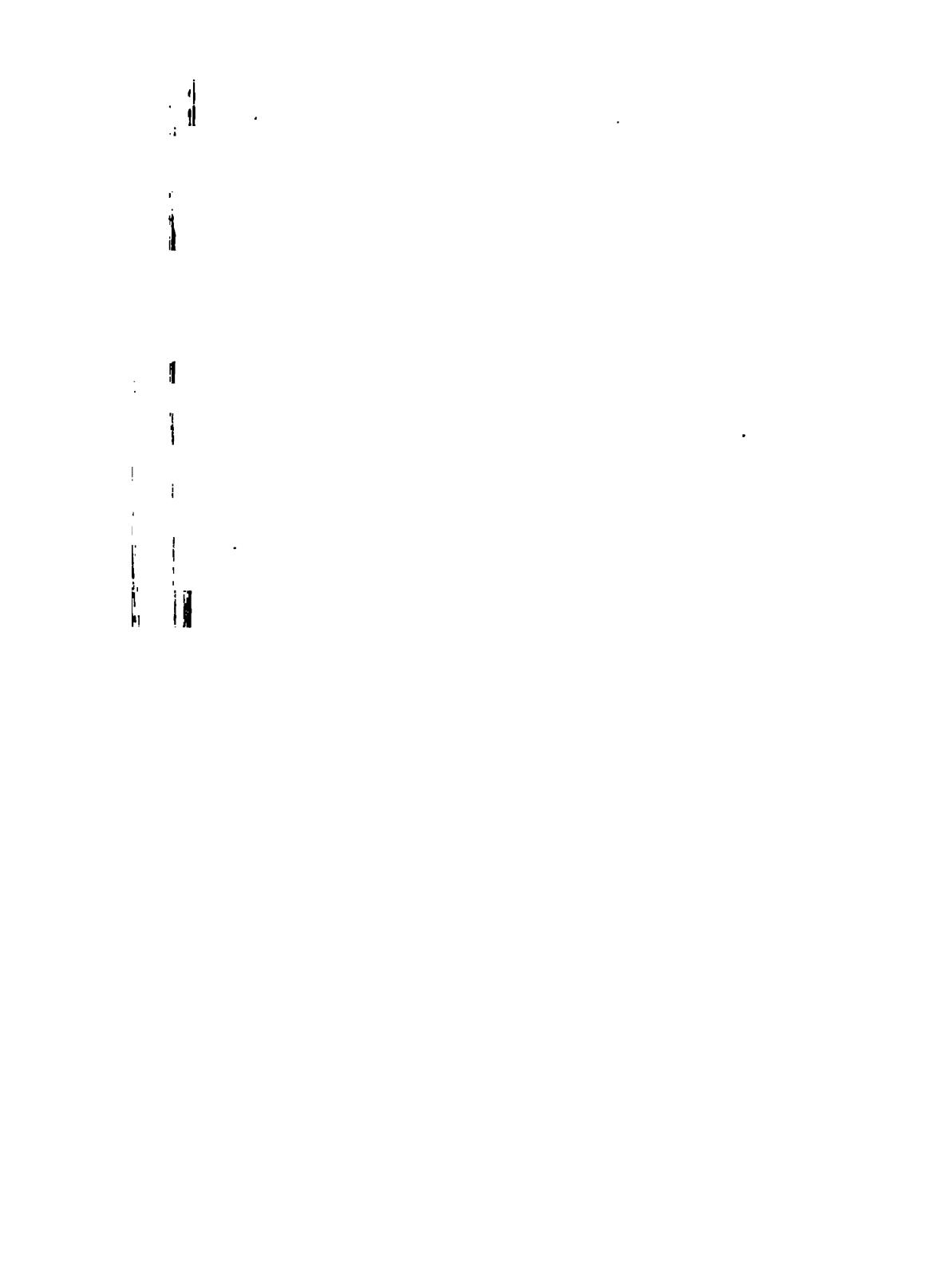
Apart from your official errand, gentlemen, I am extremely happy to welcome you all to my home. With many of you I have already shared the duties of the public service and have enjoyed the most cordial friendship. I trust your journey from all parts of the great Republic has been agreeable, and that during your stay in Maine you will feel that you are not among strangers but with friends. Invoking the blessing of God upon the great cause which we jointly represent, let us turn to the future without fear and with manly hearts.

Mr. Blaine concluding, Chairman Henderson took a step forward and said "to one and all of you I introduce the next President of the United States."

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE RECEIVING THE OFFICIAL NOTIFICATION OF HIS NOMINATION.



[REDACTED]



INTRODUCTION.

The first time the writer saw Gen. Logan, that chieftain was riding at a wild rate across the fields at Dallas, Ga., May 28th, 1864. A fierce battle was raging with Hardee's battalion of infantry. In smoke and dust, in brush and plowed field, his swiftly passing form appeared and disappeared like an eagle flying low. When the battle was over, wounded and begrimed, he appeared at headquarters, the fiercest and wildest human figure on which the writer ever looked.

The second time the writer saw him was when the noble McPherson lay dead by the breastworks before Atlanta.

The last time the writer saw him was in June, 1884, after the Republican Convention of 1884.

When comfortably seated in an easy-chair on the lawn before Blaine's house in Augusta, he talked of the nominations. What a history these intervening twenty years contain.

No other man from all those terrible fields, except Gen. Grant, remains so conspicuously before the country, and has so continuously supported and strengthened the Nation in the equally trying fields of peace.

Gen. Logan's life has been one of such activity in youth, in wars, in political campaigns and congressional debate, that it is full of most romantic situations and daring deeds. As a lawyer, as a private soldier, as a colonel, as a brigadier-general, as a major-general, as a commandant of an

LOGAN is a Virginian, is a senator, and is a popular man. Gen. Logan has had few equals in the history of the Nation. He has spared no pains, nor hesitated to imperil his life, whenever and wherever the country he loved would be made safer or more prosperous. Of him it can be said by the most disinterested friend, that he is a noble patriot, a wise statesman, and one of the greatest battle leaders of his age.

I furnish you the information contained in the following pages, not for the sake of the most important descriptions, the which I intended to communicate friends of General Logan,

THE
LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
JOHN A. LOGAN.

CHAPTER I.

Logan's Parents.—His Early Years.—The Farm.—The old Mill.—School.—Habits and Peculiarities.—The Squirrels.—Knights of the Golden Circle.—College Life.—Enlists in the United States Army.—The War with Mexico.

John A. Logan's life presents one of the most brilliant examples of America's many "self-made" men, and must serve as an incentive and encouragement to the great number of young men in the Nation whose success in letters, influence, or wealth, depends upon their own energy and skill. His father, Dr. John Logan, came to this country from the North of Ireland in the year 1818, and penetrated into the interior of the "wild West" until he made his settlement in Missouri where he married a French lady. She was a daughter of a wealthy planter and by her he had one daughter, still living. But his wife died about a year after their marriage and Dr. Logan removed to Southern Illinois. He took up his abode at what was then called Brownsville. Brownsville was afterwards the county seat of Jackson County. Lieut-Governor A. M. Jenkins was also a resi-

dent of Brownsville and with him lived his sister Miss Elizabeth Jenkins. It was at the home of Governor Jenkins that Dr. Logan first met Elizabeth and the acquaintance thus made was shortly after followed by marriage. The doctor took his bride to reside on a large farm a short distance out of Brownsville. But those acres are now hidden by the prosperous town of Murphysboro, Illinois.

The rude log cabin, which was made more comfortable and more ornamental by weather boarding, stood then almost alone on the prairie, but compared with some habitations of that time and place would be called a mansion. It was destroyed by fire two years ago.

On the 9th of February, 1824, and on a night, it is said, when nature was in its wildest mood, John A. Logan was born. Some few of the distant neighbors heard of the event and took occasion to joke the doctor about his Irish-American heir, but outside the little household it was an event of no moment, and about which none seemed especially to care. The contrast between the birth of European-titled rulers, surrounded by the pomp, the music, the parade, the congratulations of kings, and the birth of America's greatest rulers, in the obscurity of the wilderness, or in the rude habitation of a wood-chopper, furnishes themes for constant study either to the philosopher or statesman. Logan's birth, childhood, and occupation, his opportunities and his appearance gave no special evidence of future greatness. Many children in his own county had better training and far more years of education. But out of the thousands who dwelt around him, the whirl of providential events brought but two or three to the surface. A child of the prairies, a daring, lively playmate and a faithful friend, he is said to have had no especial desire or aptitude for educational acquirements.

John was the eldest of eleven children born to Dr.

Logan in that old, log farmhouse. Dr. Logan was a most skillful physician and surgeon. Calls for his services came from far and near. In all kinds of weather, and at all hours, he was called to visit the settlers far and near. He often traveled so constantly for weeks that all the sleep he secured was in his stout wagon, behind his wonderfully intelligent horse. He had but little time to work at or to oversee the farm. He was too busy to take upon himself the education of his children, although Dr. Logan was a man of superior educational attainments. Hence his farm was placed under the charge of a hired superintendent, under whom, in his young days, John found his first employment. The doctor also employed a tutor to give the children lessons, as the only means then known to give them an education. The schools were distant and exceedingly rudimentary, and never taught the higher branches of mathematics—Greek or Latin. In this way John obtained an unusually thorough and advanced education for a boy of that wild country. Latin was a favorite study with John, and when in after years he came in contact with the Spanish tongue in Mexico he was able, from his knowledge of Latin, to acquire the language in a wonderfully short period. Dr. Logan was noted as a man and physician of remarkable ability, and one who—being descended from the best of the old country stock himself—was exceedingly democratic and impartial in all his habits and social behavior. He hated aristocracy. The rich and the poor were treated alike in his hands. Honesty and uprightness were the only badges of nobility which he recognized.

He was honored by all, and he was loved by many. He never went into dissipation and never used profane language. He loved blooded stock; he enjoyed hunting and all the oldtime sports of his own native land. His house was always open to friends and to traveling preachers,

without pay or obligation so far as he was concerned. He died in 1851, from an abscess on the liver.

Dr. Logan's wife, and the mother of John, was of Scotch extraction, and had the decided, and yet generous, Scotch character. She was a tall and stately woman of modest demeanor, and very self-possessed in all circumstances. She was a thorough disciplinarian and most devoted mother. She died in 1877, after seeing her son sitting in the "high places" of the land.

John was not afraid of work in his boyhood, and as the eldest son, and in the frequent absence of his father, was often placed in positions of responsibility connected with the farm or the house far beyond those usually borne by children of his age. The groceries were purchased at a distant store; the farm produce was sold in a market several miles away; and the grist-mill, the most important establishment connected with a new civilization, was so far away that when John was sent with bags of corn for grinding he was often obliged to stop all night at the mill.

One incident connected with his experience in carrying corn to mill has found its way into the public prints, which illustrates the hard and awkward way men lived and labored in those days:

John, with one of the slave boys which the doctor then owned, and afterwards gave his freedom, went on a journey to the mill. They arrived at the mill in a terrible storm, and were obliged to spend the night in an open shed. The mill was run by horse-power, with the animal traveling in a circle at the end of a pole. The belting became soaked, and fell down in the night, where the hungry dogs found it and ate it. So John and the slave boy had to stay for three or four days at the mill while the miller killed an ox, tanned the hide, and made a new belt.

John was by nature energetic and active, and by train-

ing, as the eldest boy of a large family, was not afraid of taking responsibility. So he was always a leader among the boys, and even among the older, white farm-hands. For a few months John attended the district school, and while there was the universally acknowledged head in all their sports and youthful enterprises. He read much and stored away in his retentive memory, many an interesting or humorous story, which he often reproduced to an admiring crowd of listeners, with brilliant additions and observations of his own. He was esteemed to be an excellent performer on the violin, and for this accomplishment was sought and courted by all the young people within his social territory.

A good story is told of John's characteristics while a boy, which illustrates well one phase of his character. The doctor had a field of corn in which the squirrels made great havoc. When the doctor ordered John to kill the squirrels, the boy gave the unfortunate animals one more chance, by posting for twenty-four hours, on a tree, this placard :

"I give notice to all the squirrels to keep out of this corn-field. If they don't, they will be shot.

"JOHN A. LOGAN."

John's mother was reminded of that notice by the similar one which, years later, he sent to the Knights of the Golden Circle, who had threatened his life. The letter read about as follows:

"If you don't keep out of the Golden Circle, some of you will be strung up.

"JOHN A. LOGAN."

Professor Thomas, of the Smithsonian Institute, at Washington, who was a playmate of John's, and who afterwards married one of John's sisters, says that "when John was fifteen years old, he took into his head to build

a flat-boat for the muddy river which ran near the homestead. The boat was duly built and launched on a creek. But the river was at that time a rapid and dangerous stream, and who would pilot it out? All were afraid to venture upon it. But John, who never hesitated to accept such responsibility, jumped aboard and steered her out in triumph."

Of John's college life, which he entered upon when but seventeen years of age, there was nothing remarkable, except that same characteristic adaptability for leadership and an indomitable perseverance in whatever task he wished to perform.

At Shiloh College, then in its infancy, John remained three years. The last year of his stay at college the country was greatly agitated over the boundary questions, and other matters which disturbed the relations of our country with Mexico. John took a decided interest in the discussions, and displayed a warlike spirit which some were inclined to ridicule. But they laugh best who laugh last.

He volunteered in the first regiment raised in the State, being himself then but twenty-one years of age. He was at once appointed Second Lieutenant of Company H., First Illinois Volunteers. He entered the war at its very beginning, and remained until it was finished, being twice detached for important service. When the regiment returned from their victorious campaign, John was acting quartermaster of the regiment. He was a brave and obedient officer, and had the respect and love of those who served under him.

CHAPTER II.

Selects the Law for a Profession.—His First Public Office.—Resignation.—Study of Law.—Louisville University.—His Practice.—Personal Courage.—Elected to the State Legislature.—District Attorney.—His Legal Ability.—Marriage with Miss Cunningham.—Re-election to Legislature.—The "Black Eagle."

As far back as his college days, Logan had selected the law for a profession, and looked forward with eagerness to the time when he could enter fully into the work. He was interested in all the important cases and decisions, and eagerly perused such law books as he could secure. On his return to Illinois from Mexico, the popular young lieutenant was elected forthwith to the office of Clerk for Jackson County.

But his great desire to enter the legal profession was fanned into uncontrollable flame by being in the courts, and so intimately connected with the lawyers and their cases.

In 1850, less than a year after his election as Clerk, he resigned the office, and entered the Law Department of Louisville University. In his legal studies he made remarkable progress, and graduated with the honors of his class. Then his uncle, ex-Governor Jenkins, invited him to go into partnership, which he gladly accepted, as it gave him at once a profitable and prominent place in the profession. He had an excellent adviser in Governor Jenkins, and the most severe training in the courts with those lawyers which have since become great jurists or great statesmen.

During this early period of his legal career, the farmers of Southern Illinois lost great numbers of valuable horses, through the incursions of gangs of desperate horse thieves, who came over from the wilds of Missouri. No one of the farmers dared to pursue the villains, and hideous tales were current with regard to their numbers and blood-thirsty character.

But none of these things daunted young Logan, who conceived the idea of following the horde, and retaking their booty. The next foray which they made was into his own county, and Logan at once took his gun to follow them into their haunts. He could get but two men to go with him. The three, under Logan's lead, entered the dismal swamps of Southeastern Missouri, and so hotly and closely pursued the thieves that they abandoned their stolen gains and fled into the wilds. Logan brought back eighteen of the horses with him.

When the people elected Logan to the Legislature, two counties were in his district, viz: Jackson and Franklin. Dr. Logan was once a Representative from the same district.

After the expiration of his term in the Legislature, he was elected prosecuting attorney for the Third Judicial District of Illinois. In that position he was an unflinching public servant, and the guilty criminals felt the weight of the law.

Yet he was a faithful and vigilant counsel as an attorney, and could use anything of every-day life to influence the jury. His arguments and illustrations were practical, and in accordance with good common sense.

Once a frightened lamb, fleeing from voracious dogs, took refuge by the judge's bench in the courthouse, where Logan was defending a man accused of manslaughter, and Logan so aptly used the event, as an illustration of his innocent client, crouching before the jury, asking protection from his

inhuman persecutors, that the effect was a verdict of "not guilty."

On the 27th of November 1855, Logan married Miss Mary S. Cunningham. She was the daughter of an old friend in the Mexican War, Captain J. M. Cunningham of Marion, Ill. She was then but sixteen years of age but as gifted and noble as a girl, as she has been since as a woman. The Philadelphia Times published a sketch of her eventful life which said that "the American ancestry of Mrs. Logan goes back to a sturdy Irish settler of Virginia and a French pioneer of Louisiana. Her great-grandfather, Robert Cunningham, of Virginia, was a soldier of the war for Independence, after which he removed to Tennessee, thence to Alabama, and thence to Illinois, when still a Territory, and there manumitted his slaves. Her father, Captain John M. Cunningham, served in the fierce Black Hawk war. He was a member of the Legislature of Illinois in 1845 and '46 and served in the Mexican war. Her mother was Miss Elizabeth Fontaine, of a distinguished family of that name which had arrived in Louisiana during the French occupancy of that country and had thence journeyed up the Mississippi River and settled in Missouri. It was here that John Cunningham met his bride and it was near the present village of Sturgeon, then known as Petersburg, in Boone County, Mo., that Mary Simmerson Logan was born, on August 15, 1838. When she was one year old her parents removed to Illinois and settled at Marion, in Williamson County. It was here that the mother and her oldest daughter, then but nine years old, shared the dangers of a frontier home and the cares and solitude of a growing family, when the husband and father went forth to fight the battles of his country upon the parched plains of Mexico and braved the trials and privations of a miner's life in the Sierras of California.

"This courageous and dutiful little girl relieved her mother, who was not strong, of most of the household work, and still found time to attend the primitive school of the neighborhood and train herself in useful needlework.

"The father felt a just pride in his eldest daughter. The assistance which she had rendered her mother during his long absence in Mexico and California had even more closely endeared her to his heart, and her love of study had prompted him to give part of his income to her proper education. Accordingly, in 1853 the daughter was sent to the Convent of St. Vincent, near Morganfield, Ky., a branch of the Nazareth Institute, the oldest institution of the kind in the country. This was the nearest educational establishment of sufficient advancement in the higher branches of knowledge. The young lady was reared a Baptist; after her marriage she joined the Methodist Church, the Church of the Logan family."

Having graduated in 1855, Miss Cunningham returned to her father's home at Shawneetown. In her younger days, when a mere child, she had aided her father as Sheriff of the County, Clerk of the Court, and Register of the Land Office in preparing his papers. Those were not the days of blank forms for legal documents. Accordingly the father depended upon the daughter to make copies for him. While Mary Cunningham was thus aiding her father in his official duties John Logan was Prosecuting Attorney of the district. He had known Father Cunningham and was his warm friend. He had known the daughter as a little girl. In 1855 they were married and at once went to the young attorney's home at Benton, Franklin County.

The young wife immediately installed herself in the place of companion and helpmeet to her husband. She accompanied him on all his professional journeys, an undertaking in those days of wildernesses and no roads, often requiring

great endurance and privation. In 1856 the devoted wife saw her husband triumphantly elected a member of the Legislature, and in the famous Douglas and Lincoln Senatorial contest he was elected as a Douglas Democrat to Congress. In all these hard-fought political campaigns the noble wife went with her husband, assisting in much of his work of correspondence and copying, and frequently receiving his friends and conferring with them on the details of the campaign. When Mr. Logan came to Congress as a Representative Mrs. Logan came with him. She remained with him in Washington until the outbreak of the rebellion, when he resigned his seat in Congress to return to Illinois to go into the service of his country.

The war having commenced and Mr. Logan having raised and been assigned to the command of the Thirty-first Illinois Volunteers, Mrs. Logan, with her only living child, (now Mrs. Tucker) then three years old, returned to her father's home at Marion. The Illinois troops having been ordered into camp at Cairo, Mrs. Logan joined her husband there. During the fierce battle of Belmont, Mrs. Logan heard the booming of the guns across the turgid flood of the Mississippi. In the midst of painful and anxious suspense for the safety of her own, of whom she felt that he was in the thickest of the conflict, she gave a helping hand to the care of the wounded and suffering soldiers as they were brought back from that bloody field.

When the army entered upon the Tennessee River campaign Mrs. Logan again returned to her home, but was soon shocked by the news from Donelson that her husband had fallen at the head of his charging columns, dangerously wounded. She hastened to the scene to care for her husband. For days it was a struggle between life and death.

At Memphis, in the winter of 1862-3, Mrs. Logan again joined her husband, now a general, and remained there un-

til he led his troops in the campaign which ended in the surrender of Vicksburg.

During this time, and to the end of the war, Mrs. Logan remained at Carbondale, where, out of the General's salary, they had bought an unpretentious home. Upon his return from the war General Logan was nominated by acclamation for Congressman-at-large. After his election Mrs. Logan returned to Washington and has been one of the prominent figures in Washington society ever since.

After his marriage Logan removed at once to Benton, Illinois, where he opened a law office. He was elected again to the Legislature in 1856, as a Democrat, in the celebrated Fremont campaign. During this term in the Legislature he became quite prominent through his advocacy of very important measures, and as early as 1857, was called by a colleague in the Legislature the "Black Eagle of the South." The title being suggested by his vigor and independence and very dark complexion.

CHAPTER III.

Elected to Congress.—A Delegate to the Charleston Democratic Convention of 1860.—Views of Slavery.—Trying to Stem the Tide of Secession.—His own Account of his Action.—Hasty Return to Illinois.—The Secession Sentiment about his Home.—His Speeches.—His Personal Influence.—Raising Troops.—Colonel of the 31st Illinois.—Departure for the Field.

In 1858 he was nominated and elected to Congress from the Ninth Congressional District of Illinois. He was so popular that his majority is said to have been the largest ever given to a candidate in that district up to that time. He was then an Independent Democrat and received a great many votes from the Whig party. He was not fanatical or a partisan in the narrow sense in which those terms are usually spoken. He was larger than party and looked first for the good of the entire Nation.

He was a friend of Stephen A. Douglas, and did what he could for Douglas' advancement to the highest place in the Nation. In 1860 he was elected to the Thirty-seventh Congress with even greater enthusiasm than at first. He was also elected a Delegate to the Democratic Convention held at Charleston, S. C., in 1860. That Convention and what he observed of slavery in other places while on that trip, decided the question in his mind that the curse of slavery was too great to be upheld or countenanced in a land that claimed to be free.

In December of 1860, soon after Congress met he emphatically declared that "slavery was an evil which none

could reasonably deny." On the 7th of January he voted for the resolution then before Congress approving the action taken by the President for the preservation of the Union, and said that it had his unqualified approbation. He openly, in public speech and private counsel, opposed secession.

When the news came that the rebels had fired on Fort Sumpter, it was the end of all thoughts of compromise with him.

When the troops so hastily collected crossed the Potomac into Virginia, he decided to go with them, and although but a private citizen he took a soldier's part in the battle of Bull Run and fought till he was left alone.

Of that battle of Bull Run, it borders on the ludicrous to read how Logan in a black suit and tall silk hat, went into the fight utterly unconscious of anything but that his Nation's flag was in danger. He went over into Virginia as an anxious spectator, but when he saw the troops were giving way, he could not resist the old warlike desire in his breast, and seizing a musket which some flying coward had thrown away, he rushed into the fight and bravely covered the retreat of many uniformed soldiers after the field was hopelessly lost.

As soon as Logan reached Washington, after the battle of Bull Run, he set himself eagerly at the task of awakening loyalty to the Union among the people of Southern Illinois. He wrote to many of his friends, urging them to raise troops for the war.

As the end of the Congressional session approached, he determined to go himself and do what he could to stay the storm which was setting in against the Union in Southern Illinois. At the adjournment of Congress Logan went directly to his home with the avowed purpose of raising troops for the war. His constituents had almost unanimously passed resolutions in favor of Secession. All his

old friends were active sympathizers with the Rebellion. He seemed to stand alone. On reaching home there seemed "none so poor as to do him reverence." His bold stand for the Nation had ostracised him almost completely. In his energetic and patriotic wife, only, did he seem to find sympathy in his patriotism.

A trustworthy writer, who was personally acquainted with the people at that time, says that "the tide of public opinion among his constituency was overwhelmingly against him. Those who had been his closest political and personal friends turned against him with a keen hatred. The bitterness of the feeling cannot at this day be appreciated. They threatened to mob and kill him when he should return."

His home was at that time at Marion, Williamson County, and almost every one there was an open secessionist at that time. But Logan seemed all the more anxious to go back and to face them all. He was greeted sullenly, and treated at first with contempt and scorn. But when he mounted the rostrum and spoke of his devotion to the Union, his auditors began to waver. When he called on his old Mexican comrades to once more fight under the flag, some of them were won completely over. They secured a fife and a drum, and with "Yankee Doodle" and the "Star Spangled Banner," they began recruiting "for the Nation and for Logan." With a nucleus of a half-dozen old soldiers, the actual enlistment of troops began. Soon Logan's eloquence and earnest example began to tell more powerfully. Soon some influential men joined his recruits. Then came a general break of the secession ranks, and Southern Illinois was wholly saved to the Union.

Logan soon had a regiment enlisted, of which he was appointed colonel, and it was numbered the 31st of the Illinois Infantry. Three other regiments were organized within three months, and all four became a brigade, commanded

which possessed more timeliness than any more threatening speech. General Logan's regiment, when it left its country, was made the recipient of a beautiful flag, and a speech which General Logan made on that occasion he said:

"Should the free navigation of the Mississippi River be obstructed by force, the men of the West will have a way through Tennessee to the Gulf of Mexico."

CHAPTER IV.

Logan's First Charge with His Regiment.—Horse Shot Under Him.—Fort Henry.—Fort Donelson.—Dangerously Wounded.—A Brigadier-General.—New Command.—Before Corinth.—In Command at Jackson.—His Celebrated Reply to His Constituents.—No Politics, but Love for the Union.—The Northern Mississippi Campaign.—Feats of Logan and His Men.—The Battle of Jackson and Champion's Hill.

The first battle in which Logan and his regiment was engaged was at the town of Belmont, in Missouri. It was not more than five weeks after the regiment left Williamson County before they were under a severe fire, being placed on the left wing of Grant's forces. It was a wonderfully contested engagement, considering the freshness of all the troops engaged on both sides. Hand-to-hand conflict was frequent, and charge after charge was made. But the Union troops made no substantial advance, being obliged to fall back at last to the cover of the gunboats "Tyler" and "Lexington," stationed at the river's bank. It appears that the troops would have met with a most disastrous defeat if Logan had not been on the alert. For once, when the enemy had fled, the whole force gave up pursuing, and broke up in disorder to congratulate one another on their first victory. But the enemy rallied, and had not their advance been detected by the alertness of Col. Logan, an ignominious and bloody rout must have been the end. As it was he saved the field, and was thanked for it in the official report.

In one of the charges of that bloody day Col. Logan's horse was killed under him, and the Colonel's belt cut from his waist by another ball. The withdrawal of the troops after the battle being a part of the original plan and instructions, it was not considered in any sense a defeat.

The next movement in which Col. Logan was engaged was against Fort Henry, at the mouth of the Tennessee River. Col. Logan was the first to enter the fort after its abandonment, and with some cavalry companies he succeeded in capturing several of the retreating enemy's guns.

Then followed the siege of Fort Donelson, with its tedious marches, its cold, its mud and rain, its snow and ice, its fearful hardships, and its splendid victory. The soldiers suffered for food, for fire, and for drink during those days of battle, and Col. Logan's regiment were compelled for a long time to stand under fire, with no ammunition with which to defend themselves. That is the severest trial to which soldiers are ever put. Col. Logan was severely wounded, and his Lieutenant-Colonel killed. Three hundred of his men were killed or wounded. Gen. McClemand, in his official report, mentioned the bravery of Col. Logan and the noble behavior of his men. Gen. Grant noticed it in particular, and recommended to the War Department that Col. Logan be appointed a Brigadier-General.

For two months after the surrender of Fort Donelson, Col. Logan was confined to his bed by his wounds. But so impatient was he to get back to his troops, that he went to them before he could wear his coat.

Col. Logan's first command as a Brigadier-General was the Third Division of the Seventeenth Army Corps. His brigade was not severely engaged in any open fight in the campaign about Corinth which followed, but it was called upon to make some of the most severe forced marches of

the campaign. On the capture of Corinth, Col. Logan was placed in command of the post at Jackson, and his brigade were employed in rebuilding the railroad from Jackson to Columbus.

Gen. Sherman, in his official report of the siege of Corinth, said :

"I feel under special obligation to this officer, Gen. Logan, who, during the two days he served under me, held critical ground on my right, extending down to the railroad. All that time he had in his front a large force of the enemy, but so dense was the foliage that he could not reconnoiter their strength, save from what he could see on the railroad track."

While General Logan was in command at Jackson, some of his old friends wrote to him, urging him to be a candidate for Congress from the Fourteenth District. His reply was so vigorous as to seem half indignant at the proposed honor. In the letter he said : "I express all my views and politics when I assert my attachment for the Union. I have no other politics now, and, consequently, no aspiration for civil place and power." * * "This Government must be preserved for future generations in the same mould in which it was transmitted to us, if it takes the last man and the last dollar of the present generation within its borders to accomplish it."

In the campaign in Northern Mississippi, General Logan was promoted to Major-General. He was commissioned November 29th, 1862. In that severe march and siege, General Logan commanded the First Division of the 13th Corps, under General Grant. In January, 1863, when the Seventeenth Corps was organized, General Logan was placed in command of the Third Division. It was composed of some of the best troops in the service. Yet, at one time, in 1863, there was created considerable discon-

tent and some few desertions, by the criticisms of Northern newspapers on the Government and the disheartening effects of some defeats of the Eastern Army. General Logan drove that feeling out of his camp by one bold and stirring address. He told his men that "upon your faithfulness and devotion, heroism and gallantry depends the perpetuity of the Nation. Let us stand firm at our posts of duty and of honor, yielding a cheerful obedience to all orders from our superiors until by our united efforts the stars and stripes shall be planted in every city, town and hamlet of the rebellious States." In the winter of 1863, Logan's division was sent on transports to the great bend in the river near Vicksburg, and directed to dig the proposed canal through the peninsula via. Lake Providence. When the Government abandoned the project, on General Logan's recommendation, a large detail of Logan's men were placed on the cotton-padded transports and successfully ran the gauntlet of the terrible Vicksburg batteries. The transports thus obtained were used by General Logan to cross the river for the capture of Port Gibson. General McPherson, then in command of the Seventeenth Corps, and General Logan, planned the order of march, and, according to the official report, Logan and his men carried the day in the victory which followed. The enemy retreated precipitately before his division, and the next day evacuated Port Gibson altogether.

On the second week in May, General Logan and his men bore the principal part in the battle of Raymond. It was said by those who witnessed that contest, that it was one of the most daring and desperately fought battles of the war.

On the fourteenth of May came the battle of Jackson, in which General Johnson, of the Confederate Army, was defeated by the Seventeenth Corps, under McPherson. In

that battle, Logan led his men, and, in the engagement, captured several cannon and many men.

Again, on the sixteenth the same corps was desperately engaged at Champion's Hill. The charge up that hill to the deep cut made by the highway, was one of those steady but sure advances seldom seen in war. Many soldiers can charge and rush who could not coolly, step by step, mount a hill with the enemy at the top pouring volley after volley down upon them. It was a fearful battle. There were over three thousand of the rebels left on the field. In Badeau's History of the War, he describes with minuteness the charges and counter-charges, the flanking and the firing of that fearful day wherein Logan and his division had a most conspicuous and sadly deadly part. The same historian, speaking of the close of the battle, says :

"Before the result of the final charge was known, Logan rode eagerly up to Grant, declaring that if one more dash be made in front, he would advance in the rear, and complete the capture of the rebel army. Grant at once rode forward in person, and found the troops that had been so gallantly engaged for hours withdrawn from their most advanced position, and refilling their cartridge-boxes. Explaining the position of Logan's force, he directed them to use all dispatch and push forward as rapidly as possible. He proceeded himself in haste to what had been Pemberton's line, expecting every moment to come up with the enemy, but found the rebels had already broken and fled from the field. Logan's attack had precipitated the rout, and the battle of Champion's Hill was won." General Grant, in his official report of that battle, said that "Logan rode up at this time, and told me that if Hovey could make another dash at the enemy, *he could come up from where he then was and capture the greater part of their force; which suggestions were acted upon and fully realized.*" "The Comte de Paris in his His-

tory said of Logan's victory that "*This battle was the crowning work of the operations conducted by Grant with equal audacity and skill since his landing at Bruinsburg.* In out-flanking Pemberton's left along the slopes of Champion's Hill he had completely cut off the latter from all retreat North. Notwithstanding the very excusable error he had committed in stopping Logan's movement for a short time, *the latter had through this manœuvre secured victory to the Federal army.*"

CHAPTER V.

Siege of Vicksburg.—Logan's Division before Fort Hill.—Three Bloody Assaults.—The Explosion.—Logan's Division the first to Enter the Town.—Logan Made Military Governor.—A Gold Medal.—General Logan as an Orator.—Placed in Command of the Fifteenth Corps.—The Atlanta Campaign.—Battles of Reseca, Dallas, and Kenesaw Mountain.—Enters Marietta.

In the renowned siege of Vicksburg, General Logan was a conspicuous figure. No other place in all the South during the war, with the exception perhaps of Richmond, was so heavily armed and so completely defended as Vicksburg. It was the stronghold of the Confederacy on the Mississippi River. The approaches to it were through deep swamps, overgrown and undergrown with vines and stout tropical vegetation, deep, and thick, and dark. The fortifications were planned by the highest military skill, and aided by the river, the bluffs, and the deep ravines, made a natural fortress stronger than anything man could build. In this city so grandly fortified, were thirty thousand experienced troops under one of the ablest generals of the Confederacy,—General Pemberton. General Grant's army, when it reached the swamps and ravines, did not number over forty thousand men, and they were worn and sick with long and difficult marching. From the nineteenth of June to the Fourth of July the siege was pressed with determination, and every approach to the city had to be gained by the severest fighting, or by the slow process of mining. General Logan commanded the center of the seventeenth corps which was

stationed opposite Fort Hill, the strongest citadel of all the fortresses about the city. Logan took part in the two terrible and general assaults which failed, and then began mining under Fort Hill. He was often consulted by General Grant, and after General Logan had blown up Fort Hill and pressed his men forward into the crater of the explosion, he advised the general assault which would have been again made on July 6th, if the enemy had not surrendered as he did, July 4th. The great French historian says, that "Logan's Division was the first to enter Vicksburg. It had deserved that honor. General Grant rode at the head."

It appears that the Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry of Logan's Division was the first to enter Vicksburg, and they placed their flag on the courthouse. General Logan had been so heroic personally, and his military ability was so strikingly shown in the fearful daily battles of the siege, that General Grant gave him the place of honor as Military Governor of the town after its surrender. His bravery and conspicuous valor as a warrior was recognized by a gold medal, struck in his honor and presented by the 17th corps at Vicksburg.

Following the capture of Vicksburg, General Logan and his men had a respite of a few months from the trials of actual battle. There was a lull all along the border, owing to the extensive preparations necessary to the great campaign of 1864, in which the question was the support of Lincoln's official acts. General Logan being then so noted a warrior, and such an acknowledged orator, he was urged by his superior officers to go North and speak in the campaign. This he did, and seldom, if ever, in the history of the Nation has a political speaker received such honor and created such patriotic fervor. The great issue was the Emancipation Proclamation, and it received his hearty support.

In one of the most remarkable speeches of our time, which

General Logan made at Chicago, and from which extracts have found their way into school books as examples of oratory, he used the following strong language:

"My countrymen, let us look back for a few years and view the prosperity and happiness that blessed all our land; and then cast your eyes around and see the condition of our country now. Do not ask yourselves who is President, or what may be his politics; but ask, have we not hitherto had a good and beneficent Government? And if so, have we not the same Government yet? Your answer must be in the affirmative; and, my friends, if we are but true to ourselves, true to our cause, true to the principles we have been educated in from our earliest infancy, we shall have that Government still.

"How is it possible for any man in a country like this to be disloyal to his Government? How is it possible for any man in this country to conceive the thought or idea of sympathizing with rebellion against such a Government as this?
* * * Where is the cause for it? Where is the reason of it? Where the justification? There is none to be found, not one; and if any man becomes disloyal, it is because there are devilish designs and corruptions at his heart.

"I am taunted about being an Abolitionist. If every man in this country is called an Abolitionist, that is willing to fight for and sustain his Government, let him be called so. If, belonging to the United States, and being true and valiant soldiers, meeting the steel of Southern revolutionists, marching to the music of this Union, loving the flag of our country, and standing by it in its severest struggles—if that makes us Abolitionists, let all of us be Abolitionists. If it makes a man an Abolitionist to love his country, then I love my country, am willing to live for it, and willing to die for it. If it makes a man an Abolitionist to love to hear the Star Spangled Banner sung, and be proud to hear that such

THE LATE AND FERULED UNION

... and it would not have been well ever to come upon the battlefield of Gettysburg, had I am proud to be an Abolitionist, than to have learned that we had a million more : and that the world would be at an end. And peace would be a curse to us all, and a curse to a ruined people, and the world would be disgracing you make happy the land where you were born, and where you died, finally in the sultry

* * * * *

... when we ourselves established this Government ! ... we must be allowed freely as water to accomplish our mission, to use our priceless heritage of National freedom, and independence, under a form of Government that will be safe for us all. Under three sacred remembrances of the past, let me now stand, and then tell me—whether it is true, or false, to tell me whether this rebellion, begun in the South, and carried on by crime, carried on by treason, and卖国, and treason, and to the end, if successful, will not put out over the last hope of mankind, tell me [if it is true, or false, to tell me of no, never.]

... and I call upon all to we may realize a lesson clearly pointing to the future. It is to lay fast hold of that old flag, keep it to the music of the Union, unfurl its ample folds, and with a heart of courage, a will that knows no faltering or dismaying, let it flutter over every burg, and wave over every town and hamlet, until all traitors, like the wicked prince of Babylon, shall smite their knees in terror and dismay, as if the handwriting was upon the wall. Let them know that they must bow before it, or kiss its untarnished folds, and swear by all that is great and good never to violate its sanctity or infringe a right it represents, let this be done and all will be well. And I appeal to, and entreat you all, my countrymen, by all that you hold sacred, by the glorious memories of the past, the once bright hopes of the future,

by the memory of the gallant ones who have fallen on the gory fields of the South ; by the wounded and suffering who still languish in our midst ; by the sorrow and mourning that this wicked rebellion has brought upon our once happy and favored land, to be faithful, vigilant, untiring, unswerving, determined, come what may, dare to be men and do what is right. Stand by your country in all her trials, at every hazard or at any cost.

"Let it not be said that those glorious boys who now sleep beneath the red clay of the South, or the green sod of our own loved State, have died in vain. Let those who are traducing the soldiers of the Government know the enormity of their crimes and their error ; try to reclaim them, and bring them back to duty and to honor. If they heed not your appeals, if they still persist in their error and heresies, if they will not aid in maintaining the Government and laws that protect them, and continue in their wicked aid and encouragement to this rebellion, send them to the other side where they belong, for the man who can live in this peaceful, happy, and prosperous land, and not be loyal and true to it, ought, like Cain, to be branded by an indelible mark, and banished forever from his native paradise. No traitor, no sympathizer, no man whq can lisp a word in favor of this rebellion, or impair the chances of the Union cause, is fit for any other ruler than Jeff Davis. He should be put in *front* of the Union army, where he will get justice."

Immediately after the election, General Logan was placed in command of General Grant's old soldiers—the Fifteenth Army Corps, General Sherman its last General being promoted to the command of the Western Army and given the duty to capture Atlanta. In the spring of 1864, after a winter of preparatory marching and gathering of supplies, the campaign from Tennessee to Georgia began. General

Logan's corps with the 16th and 17th corps formed the Army of the Tennessee, under command of McPherson. The first great battle was fought at Resaca. In that battle Logan's Corps withstood three terrific charges and won the final victory after dark. The storm of shot and shell was fearful and the heroic conduct of the enemy called out the admiration of all who saw the fearful slaughter and the determined rallies. General Logan was wounded in that battle and it seems a marvel that he could have escaped with his life after riding for hours along a field plowed with shell, and being so conspicuous a figure for the enemy's skirmish line. He never asked a soldier to go into any place of danger where he would not go himself.

On the 28th of May came the battle of Dallas. On that day General Logan again came face to face with General Hardee. The charges by the rebels were most astonishingly heroic. The charge upon Logan's Corps was so sudden and so desperate that he could not get time to arrange for artillery or cavalry, but rode along in the very front of battle, shouting to the men to be strong, and keeping them in place and in courage by the inspiration of his personal presence. Over three hundred dead Confederates were buried along one line of battle, and General Logan was again wounded. It was a frequent prediction among the soldiers that "Black Jack will go under one of these times. He gets a loud call about every day."

On the morning of the 15th of June, the writer saw General Logan in consultation with McPherson at Big Shanty, and when he left, the officers remarked that "something was going to happen, for Logan rides like it." Something did happen and it was one of the severest and bloodiest charges of the campaign. It cleared the ravines of the stubborn rebel hosts and drove them back upon Big Kenesaw Mountain. For two weeks there was not a day

when Logan did not find himself under fire. The roar of cannon was continuous, and the little clouds of powder smoke could be seen incessantly arising in every southern direction. A continual battle day and night went on for many days, and the enemy were driven but a few yards at a time, save in some such desperate and deadly charge as Logan made on the 15th of June.

On the 27th, Logan and his men charged up Little Kennesaw Mountain. The mountain is most precipitous and was covered with a rough growth of trees and brush, and ragged piles of shelving rocks, and perpendicular ledges barred the way. Through these woods, rushing through thickets of brush, climbing the cliffs, and clambering over rocks, the Fifteenth Corps passed up the mountain. The enemy on the top of this natural fortress hurled down lighted shells and rocks, and kept up a constant discharge of musketry. All the way for half a mile up the mountain, by every exposed rock, and along the edge of every prominent ledge, lay scores of soldiers, bleeding, dying, or dead.

When the scaling columns reached a space near the top, and within sight of the enemy's cannon, a perpendicular wall of smooth rock, thirty or forty feet in height, stopped their further progress. There was no means of scaling it, while from the edge above them the rebels poured down upon them a constant shower of bullets and ignited shell. But Logan's men bravely held their own until night set in and the movement of the Union troops on the right compelled the rebels to abandon the mountain altogether.

Logan's loss that day was sixty officers and four hundred men. On July 4th, Logan entered Marietta and celebrated Independence Day, as did Dodge's, and Blair's, and Hooker's old corps, in following close upon the retreating columns of the enemy, and firing after them whenever they could be seen.

CHAPTER VI.

The Siege of Atlanta.—The Battle of Jonesville.—Evacuation of Atlanta.—Return to speak in Presidential campaign.—Refuses to supersede Gen. Thomas.—Joins his corps for the Carolina campaign.—Surrender of Lee.—Farewell address to his troops.

The last of July came the siege and battles of Atlanta and the death of General McPherson, the gallant commander of the Army of the Tennessee. At the time of McPherson's death there was no man but Logan who could have saved the army from a fearful defeat. It is almost sure to cause a panic in any army to let it go from mouth to mouth, amid the shriek of shells and the crack of musketry, the deep boom of a thousand cannon, and the yells of charging columns, that "the General is dead." Never was there a more trying minute than when, in the heat of one of the mightiest conflicts of the war, the cry went forth "McPherson is killed! McPherson is shot!" Its effect could be seen in the cessation of firing, the dying out of the fierce yells, and the clearing of the long line of battle from the smoke that enveloped it. The strange action puzzled the enemy, fortunately, and led General Hood to expect some change in the attack,—or he would have charged surely on to victory. But as soon as General Sherman heard of McPherson's death, he ordered Logan to assume command of the Army of the Tennessee. No sooner did General Logan get the order than he rode swiftly along the sad lines and urged the

men to take vengeance on the enemy for the death of McPherson.

He faced every danger and appeared in the most exposed places along the line, and soon the sadness of the troops gave way to indignation and they fought with even greater desperation than before their beloved leader's death. Logan's tact and bravery saved the day.

General Logan's official report of the battle, although modestly omitting his own share in the greatest victory of the campaign, yet shows by its figures how fearful and fatal was the conflict.

HEADQUARTERS DEP'T OF ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE }
BEFORE ATLANTA, GA., July 24, 1862. }

General:

I have the honor to report the following summary of the result of the battle of the 22d inst.: Total loss in killed, wounded and missing, three thousand five hundred and twenty-one (3,521), and ten pieces (10) of artillery.

We have buried and delivered to the enemy, under a flag of truce sent in by them, in front of the Seventeenth Corps, one thousand (1,000) of their killed; the number of the dead in front of the Fourth Division of the same corps, including those on ground not now occupied by our troops, General Blair reports, will swell the number of their dead on his front to two thousand (2,000). The number of dead buried in front of the Fifteenth Corps up to this hour, is three hundred and sixty (360), and the commanding officer reports at least as many more unburied. The number of dead buried in front of the Sixteenth Corps was four hundred and twenty-two (422).

We have one thousand (1,000) of their wounded in our hands, a large number of wounded having been carried off by them during the night after the engagement.

We captured eighteen stands of colors and have them now ; also captured five thousand (5,000) stands of arms.

The attack was made on our line seven times, and was seven times repulsed. Hood's, Hardee's and Wheeler's cavalry engaged us. We have sent to the rear one thousand (1,000) prisoners, including thirty-seven (37) commissioned officers of high rank. We still occupy the field and the troops are in fine spirits.

Our total loss is three thousand five hundred and twenty-one (3,521) ; the enemy's dead, thus far reported buried or delivered to them, is three thousand two hundred and twenty (3,220) ; total prisoners sent North, one thousand and seventeen (1,017) ; total prisoners wounded in our hands, one thousand (1,000) ; estimated loss of the enemy, over ten thousand (10,000).

Very respectfully,

Your obed't servant,

JOHN A. LOGAN,

Major-General.

MAJOR-GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

General Grant, in his official report of the battle of Atlanta, said that "about one P. M. of this day (July 22d), the brave, accomplished, and noble-hearted McPherson was killed. General Logan succeeded him and commanded the Army of the Tennessee through this desperate battle and *until he was superseded by Major-General Howard on the 27th*, with the same success and ability that had characterized him in the command of a corps or division."

On the 22d of July was fought the battle of Ezra Chapel by Logan's corps alone. Six times did the Rebels charge his lines and as many times were they repulsed. It will ever be a surprise that General Logan was not continued in the command of the Army of the Tennessee instead of being

returned to the command of his corps, superseded by General Howard. It is almost as great a mystery as it has ever been to the writer how it could be that the conservative, careful, and cautious McPherson should be killed, while Logan who pushed into danger anywhere and hesitated not at any personal risk should outlive his many wounds and survive to deliver the oration at the unveiling of McPherson's statue. The battle of Ezra Chapel was fought after General Logan returned to the command of the 15th corps and the following is his official report:

HEADQUARTERS FIFTEENTH ARMY CORPS,
BEFORE ATLANTA, GA.,
July 29, 1864.

Colonel: I have the honor to report that in pursuance of orders I moved my command in position on the right of the Seventeenth Army corps, which was the extreme right of the Army in the field, on the night and morning of the 27th and 28th instant, and during my advance to a more desirable position we were met by the rebel infantry from Hood's and Lee's corps, who made a desperate and determined attack at half-past eleven o'clock in the morning of the 28th.

My lines were protected only by logs and rails hastily thrown in front of them. The first onset was received and checked, and the battle commenced, lasting until about three o'clock in the afternoon. During that time six successive charges were made, which were six times gallantly repulsed, each time with fearful loss to the enemy. Later in the evening my lines were several times assaulted vigorously, but terminated with like result. The most of the fighting occurred on Generals Harrow's and Smith's fronts, which formed the center and right of the line. The troops could not have displayed more courage, nor greater determination not to yield.

Had they shown less they would have been driven from their position. Brigadier-Generals Wood's, Harrow's, and Smith's division commands are entitled to great credit for gallant conduct and skill in repelling the assaults. My thanks are due to Major-Generals Blair and Dodge for sending me reinforcements at a time when they were much needed.

My losses are 50 killed, 439 wounded, and 83 missing; aggregate 572.

The division of General Harrow captured five battle-flags. There were about fifteen hundred or two thousand muskets captured; 106 prisoners were captured exclusive of 73 wounded who have been removed to hospitals and are being taken care of by our surgeons; 565 rebels up to this time have been buried, and about 200 supposed to be yet unburied. Large numbers were undoubtedly carried away during the night as the enemy did not withdraw until nearly daylight. The enemy's loss could not have been, in my judgment, less than six or seven thousand.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
JOHN A. LOGAN, Major-General,
Commanding Fifteenth Army Corps,

LIEUT.-COL. W. T. CLARK,
Asst. Adjutant-General.

On the foregoing report General Howard added the following endorsement:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE
ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE BEFORE ATLANTA, GA., }
July 28, 1864. }

In forwarding the within report I wish to express my high gratification with the conduct of the troops engaged. I never saw better conduct in battle.

The General commanding the Fifteenth Army Corps, though ill and much worn out, was indefatigable, and the

success of the day is as much attributable to him as to any one man. His officers, and in fact all the officers of his army that commanded my observation, co-operated promptly and heartily with him.

On the 26th of August, after continuous daily battle, Howard's Command was ordered to move around to Jonesboro', and destroy the evening's communications with Atlanta. There a desperate engagement was fought between Logan's corps and a large force of the enemy. But General Logan repulsed their attacks three times when they retired leaving over two thousand dead on the field. That battle decided the fate of Atlanta, and the following night it was evacuated.

On the 11th of September, when the 15th corps went into camp for rest, General Logan issued the following congratulatory order to his command. It is a most characteristic document and is given entire;

HEADQUARTERS FIFTEENTH ARMY CORPS, }
EAST POINT, GA., Sept. 11, 1864. }

Officers and Soldiers Fifteenth Army Corps:

You have borne your part in the accomplishment of the object of this campaign, a part well and faithfully done.

On the first day of May, 1864, from Huntsville, Alabama, and its vicinity you commenced the march. The marches and labors performed by you during this campaign will hardly find a parallel in the history of the war. The proud name heretofore acquired by the Fifteenth Corps for soldierly bearing and daring deeds remains untarnished—its luster undimmed. During the campaign you constituted the main portion of the flanking column of the whole army. Your first move against the enemy was around the right of the army at Resaca, where by your gallantry, the enemy were driven from the hills and his works on the main road from Vilanow to Resaca. On the retreat of the enemy you

moved on the right flank of the army by a circuitous route to Adairsville, in the same manner from there to Kingston and Dallas, where, on the 28th day of May, you met the veteran corps of Hardee, and in severe and bloody contest you hurled him back, killing and wounding over two thousand, besides capturing a large number of prisoners. You then moved around to the left of the army, by way of Acworth to Kenesaw Mountain, where again you met the enemy, driving him from three lines of works, capturing over three hundred prisoners. During your stay in front of Kenesaw Mountain, on the 27th of June, you made one of the most daring, bold, and heroic charges of the war, against the almost impregnable position of the enemy on Little Kenesaw. You were then moved by way of Marietta to Nickajack Creek, on the right of the enemy; thence back to the extreme left, by way of Marietta and Roswell, to the Augusta railroad, near Stone Mountain, a distance of fifty miles, and after effectually destroying the railroad at this point you moved by way of Decatur to the immediate front of the rebel stronghold, Atlanta. Here, on the 22d day of July, you again performed your duty nobly "as patriots and soldiers" in one of the most severe and sanguinary conflicts of the campaign. With hardly time to recover your almost exhausted energies, you were moved again around to the right of the army, only to encounter the same troops against whom you had so recently contended, and the battle of the 28th of July, at Ezra Chapel, will long be remembered by the officers and soldiers of this command. On that day it was the 15th corps that, almost unaided and alone, for four hours contested the field against the corps of Hardee and Lee. You drove them discomfited from the field, causing them to leave their dead and many of their wounded in your hands. The many noble and gallant deeds performed by you on that day will be remembered among the

proudest acts of our Nation's history. After pressing the enemy closely for several days, you again moved to the right of the army, to the West Point railroad, near Fairburn—after completely destroying the road for some distance, you marched to Jonesboro', driving the enemy before you from Pond Creek, a distance of ten miles. At this point you again met the enemy, composed of Lee's and Hardee's Corps, on the 31st of August, and punished them severely, driving them in confusion from the field, with their dead, and many wounded, and prisoners in your hands. Here again by your skill and true courage you kept sacred the reputation you have so long maintained, viz : "The 15th corps never meets the enemy but to strike and defeat him." On the 1st of September the 14th corps attacked Hardee ; you at once opened fire on him, and by your co-operation his defeat became a rout. Hood, hearing the news, blew up his ammunition trains, retreated, and Atlanta *was ours*.

You have reached during the Campaign, in your windings, the distance of four hundred miles, have put "*hors du combat*" more of the enemy than your corps numbers, have captured twelve stands of colors, 2,450 prisoners and 210 deserters.

The course of your march is marked by the graves of patriotic heroes who have fallen by your side ; but at the same time it is more plainly marked by the blood of traitors who have defied the constitution and laws, insulted and trampled under foot the glorious flag of our country.

We deeply sympathize with the friends of those of our comrades-in-arms who have fallen ; our sorrows are only appeased by the knowledge that they fell as brave men, battling for the preservation and perpetuation of one of the best Governments of earth. "Peace be to their ashes."

You now rest for a short time from your labors ; during the respite prepare for the future action ; let your country

see at all times by your conduct that you love the cause you have espoused; that you have no sympathy with any who would by word or deed assist vile traitors in dismembering our mighty Republic or trailing in the dust the emblem of our National greatness and glory. You are the defenders of a Government that has blessed you heretofore with peace, happiness and prosperity. Its perpetuity depends upon your heroism, faithfulness and devotion.

When the time shall come to go forward again, let us go with the determination to save our Nation from threatened wreck and hopeless ruin, not forgetting the appeal from widows and orphans that is borne to us upon every breeze to avenge the loss of their loved ones, who have fallen in defense of their country. Be patient, obedient and earnest, and the day is not far distant when you can return to your homes with the proud consolation that you have assisted in causing the old banner to again wave from every mountain's top and over every town and hamlet of our once happy land, and hear the shouts of triumph ascend from a grateful people, proclaiming that once more we have one flag and one country.

JOHN A. LOGAN,
Major-General Commanding.

Being again urged to go North and deliver addresses before the election of President, he left Atlanta before the celebrated March to the Sea was undertaken, and before his leave of absence expired all communications with his old command were cut off. Consequently, either voluntarily or in accordance with the call of the Secretary of War, he reported for duty at Washington. He was immediately ordered to go to Nashville and relieve General Thomas, who was then holding the rebels under Hood in check. But when he reached Louisville he heard that Thomas was winning victories and gallantly protecting the country in every way;

so Gen. Logan most generously telegraphed to General Grant that Thomas was doing so well it would be hardly right to supersede him in the face of the enemy. He also asked to go back to his old command, which had then reached Savannah. His request was granted, and it was a long time before General Thomas knew of Logan's self-sacrificing conduct.

After joining his corps at Savannah, he led them in the severe campaign through South Carolina and North Carolina, where starvation often threatened, and men died by the hundreds of fatigue. While at Raleigh, with his command, Lee surrendered, and the troops marched northward and homeward.

General Howard having been detailed for other work, General Logan was again placed in command of the Army of the Tennessee, and rode at its head in the great review of the troops in Washington, before the President. When the troops were mustered out, which occurred a few weeks later, General Logan resigned, and went to his home and family at Marion.

The following is his farewell address to his troops :

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE, }
LOUISVILLE, Ky., July 13th, 1865. }

Officers and Soldiers of the Army of the Tennessee:

The profound gratification I feel in being authorized to release you from the onorous obligations of the camp, and return you laden with laurels, to homes where warm hearts wait to welcome you, is somewhat embittered by the painful reflection that I am sundering the ties that trials have made true, time made tender, suffering made sacred, perils made proud, heroism made honorable, and fame made forever fearless of the future. It is no common occasion that demands the disbandment of a military organization, before

the irresistible power of which, mountains brietling with bayonets have bowed, cities have surrendered, and millions of brave men been conquered.

Although I have been but for a short period your commander, we are not strangers; affections have sprung up between us during the long years of doubt, gloom, and carnage, which we have passed through together, nurtured by common perils, sufferings and sacrifices, and riveted by the memories of gallant comrades, whose bones repose beneath the sod of a hundred battle-fields, nor time nor distance will weaken or efface.

The many marches you have made, the dangers you have despised, the haughtiness you have humbled, the duties you have discharged, the glory you have gained, the destiny you have discovered for the country in whose cause you have conquered, all recur at this moment, in all the vividness that marked the scenes through which we have just passed.

From the pens of the ablest historians of the land, daily are drifting out upon the current of time page upon page, volume upon volume of your heroic deeds, which floating down to future generations will inspire the student of history with admiration, the patriot American with veneration for his ancestors, and the lover of Republican liberty with gratitude to those who in a fresh baptism of blood reconsecrated the powers and energies of the Republic to the cause of constitutional freedom. Long may it be the happy fortune of each and every one of you to live in the full fruition of the boundless blessings you have secured to the human race.

Only he whose heart has been thrilled with admiration for your impetuous and unyielding valor in the thickest of the fight, can appreciate with what pride I recount the brilliant achievements which immortalize you, and enrich the pages of our National history. Passing by the earlier,

but not less signal triumphs of the war, in which most of you participated and inscribed upon your banners such victories as Donelson and Shiloh. I recur to campaigns, sieges, and victories that challenge the admiration of the world, and elicit the unwilling applause of all Europe. Turning your backs upon the blood-bathed heights of Vicksburg, you launched into a region swarming with enemies, fighting your way and marching without adequate supplies, to answer the cry for succor that came to you from the noble but beleaguered army at Chattanooga. Your steel next flashed among the mountains of Tennessee, and your weary limbs found rest before the embattled heights of Missionary Ridge, and there with dauntless courage you breasted again the enemy's destructive fire, and shared with your comrades of the Army of the Cumberland the glories of a victory than which no soldiery can boast a prouder.

In that unexampled campaign of vigilant and vigorous warfare from Chattanooga to Atlanta, you freshened your laurels at Resaca, grappling with the enemy behind his works, hurling him back dismayed and broken. Pursuing him from thence, marking your path by the graves of fallen comrades, you again triumph over superior numbers at Dallas, fighting your way from there to Kenesaw Mountain, and under the murderous artillery that frowned from its rugged heights, with a tenacity and constancy that finds few parallels, you labored, fought, and suffered through the broiling rays of a southern midsummer's sun, until at last you planted your colors upon its topmost heights. Again on the 22d July, 1864, rendered memorable through all time for the terrible struggle you so heroically maintained under discouraging disasters, and that saddest of all reflections, the loss of that exemplary soldier and popular leader, the lamented McPherson, your matchless courage turned defeat into a glorious victory. Ezra Chapel and Jonesboro' add-

new luster to a radiant record, the latter unbarring to you the proud Gate City of the South. The daring of a desperate foe in thrusting his legions northward, exposed the country in your front, and through rivers, swamps and enemies opposed, you boldly surmounted every obstacle, beat down all opposition, and marched onward to the sea.

Without any act to dim the brightness of your historic page, the world rang plaudits when your labors and struggles culminated at Savannah, and the old "Starry Banner" waved once more over the walls of one of our proudest cities of the sea-board. Scarce a breathing spell had passed when your colors faded from the coast, and your columns plunged into the swamps of the Carolinas. The sufferings you endured, the labors you performed, and the successes you achieved in those morasses, deemed impassable, form a creditable episode in the history of the war. Pocataligo, Salkahatchie, Edisto, Branchville, Orangeburg, Columbia, Bentonville, Charleston, and Raleigh, are names that will ever be suggestive of the resistless sweep of your columns through the territory that cradled and nurtured, and from whence was sent forth on its mission of crime, misery and blood, the disturbing and disorganizing spirit of secession and rebellion.

The work for which you pledged your brave hearts and brawny arms to the Government of your fathers, you have nobly performed. You are seen in the past, gathering through the gloom that enveloped the land, rallying as the guardians of man's proudest heritage, forgetting the thread unwoven in the loom, quitting the anvil, and abandoning the workshops, to vindicate the supremacy of the laws, and the authority of the Constitution! Four years have you struggled in the bloodiest and most destructive war that ever drenched the earth in human gore; step by step you have borne our standard, until to-day over every fortress and

arsenal that rebellion wrenched from us, and over city, town and hamlet, from the lakes to the Gulf, and from ocean to ocean, proudly floats the "starry emblem" of our National unity and strength.

Your rewards, my comrades, are the welcoming plaudits of a grateful people, the consciousness that in saving the Republic you have won for your country renewed respect and power, at home and abroad; that the unexampled era of growth and prosperity that dawns with peace, there attaches mightier wealth of pride and glory than ever before to that loved boast "I am an American Citizen!"

In relinquishing the implements of war for those of peace, let your conduct ever be that of warriors in time of war, and peaceful citizens in time of peace. Let not the luster of that bright name that you have won as soldiers, be dimmed by any improper act as citizens, but as time rolls on let your record grow brighter and brighter still.

JOHN A. LOGAN,
Major-General

CHAPTER VII.

Appointment as Minister to Mexico.—Elected to Congress.—One of the Impeachment Prosecutors.—Promoted to the United States Senate.—Originated the Observance of Decoration Day.—Commander of the Grand Army.—Prominent Candidate for the Presidency.—The Speech of Senator Cullom.—Gen. Logan's Nomination for Vice President.

His retirement to private life was but temporary. Such a noble and valuable man could not be spared from the councils of the Nation. President Johnson recognized the fact that much power for good was lying idle and tried to persuade General Logan to take an appointment as Minister of the United States to Mexico. But the General did not take the office for two reasons, viz: First, he preferred to live in the United States, and second, he did not like to receive such an honor from such a man as Andrew Johnson.

In 1868 he was again elected to Congress and he took his seat again in the Hall from which four years before he went forth resolved "never to return to political life until every Rebel had laid down his arms." Then followed the exciting period when the impeachment of President Johnson was before Congress. General Logan was no disinterested spectator. He believed the will of the people should be obeyed by every public servant. He was fearless and persistent in his patriotic desire to have the States of the South restored in such a way as to make further opposition to the Government useless. He sympathized with Secretary Stanton and he was appointed one of the prosecutors on the part

of the House of Representatives to present and sustain the charges against the President.

General Logan was re-elected with no noteworthy opposition until 1871, when the Legislature of Illinois elected him to the United States Senate. In 1877 he was superseded by Judge Davis, which was due to the fact that the Democrats, with a few Independents, obtained control of the Legislature. But two years later, at the expiration of the term of Hon Richard J. Oglesby, the General was again elected.

In 1868 he was elected Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, and to him is due the honor of putting into general practice the decorating of Soldiers' graves and the setting apart of a National day for that purpose. It is interesting to all, but especially so to the soldiers of the Nation to read again his orders in 1868 for Decoration Day.

HEADQUARTERS GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D.C., May 5th, 1868. }

General Order No. 11.

1. The thirtieth day of May, 1868, is designated for the purpose of strewing with flowers, or otherwise decorating, the graves of comrades who died in defense of their country during the late rebellion, and whose bodies now lie in almost every city, village, and hamlet churchyard in the land. In this observance, no form of ceremony is prescribed, but posts and comrades will in their own way arrange such fitting services and testimonials of respect as circumstances may permit.

We are organized comrades, as our regulations tell us, for the purpose, among other things, "of preserving and strengthening those kind and fraternal feelings which have

bound together the soldiers, and sailors, and marines who united to suppress the late rebellion." What can aid more to assure the result than by cherishing tenderly the memory of the heroic dead, who made their breasts a barricade between our country and its foes. Their soldier lives were the reveille of freedom to a race in chains, and their deaths the tattoo of rebellious tyranny in arms. We should guard their graves with sacred vigilance. All that the consecrated wealth and taste of the Nation can add to their adornment and security is but a fitting tribute to the memory of her slain defenders. Let no wanton foot tread rudely on such hallowed ground. Let pleasant paths invite the coming and going of reverent visitors and fond mourners. Let no vandalism of avarice or neglect, no ravages of time testify to the present or to the coming generations that we have forgotten as a people the cost of a free and undivided Republic.

If other eyes grow dull and other hands slack, and other hearts cold in the solemn trust, ours shall keep it well as long as the light and warmth of life remain to us.

Let us then, at the time appointed, gather around their sacred remains and garland the passionless mounds above them with the choicest flowers of springtime; let us raise above them the dear old flag they saved from dishonor; let us in this solemn presence renew our pledges to aid and assist those whom they have left among us a sacred charge upon a Nation's gratitude—the soldier's and sailor's widow and orphan.

II. It is the purpose of the commander-in-chief to inaugurate this observance with the hope that it will be kept up from year to year while a survivor of the war remains to honor the memory of his departed comrades. He earnestly desires the public press to call attention to this order, and lend its friendly aid in bringing it to the notice of com-

rades in all parts of the country in time for simultaneous compliance therewith.

III. Department commanders will use every effort to make this order effective.

By order of

JOHN A. LOGAN, Commander-in-Chief.

N. P. CHIPMAN, Adjutant-General.

General Logan has been one of the most diligent working members of the Senate, and has been a strong member of the Military and Judiciary Committees for six years. He was an unshaken supporter of the financial policy which resulted in specie payments and he has been the foremost promoter of those measures which expressed the gratitude of the Nation to its soldiers and defenders.

It has long been the earnest desire of his State that he should be the candidate for the Presidency, and three times Illinois has presented his name as her choice and his failure to secure that honor was owing to matters of political expediency only. Never was a word uttered in public to his disparagement that received the countenance of his party. Wholly above reproach he is a gentleman of taste and culture and a man of purity and honor, and one of whom it would be a great satisfaction to give a more extended account.

General Logan's speeches in the Senate and House have, some of them, been of the ablest character, in manner, phraseology, and thought. His great argument on Reconstruction became the household possession of nearly every family in the land, and some of its oratorical passages will be quoted and declaimed after he has been long in his grave.

The legal ability to mass facts and logically arrange an important argument, is perhaps most clearly presented in his masterly speech on the reinstatement of General Fitz John Porter in his rank in the army. As a legal document,

it could not be surpassed, and where he compared the court, which calmly condemned Porter, to the hasty manner in which General Rosecrans dismissed officers, he was most eloquent.

The Republican Convention of 1884, which nominated James G. Blaine for President, also nominated General Logan for the office of Vice President, by a unanimous vote, no other candidates appearing to contest the honor. He was also suggested by the Illinois delegation for the office of President, before the vote was taken for the first place on the ticket. Senator Cullom, of Illinois, made the suggestion in a speech, which shows the esteem in which he is held at home. The Senator said :

"Twenty-four years ago the second National Convention of the Republican party met in this city, and nominated their first successful candidate for President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. Abraham Lincoln led the Republican party to its first great victory. He stands to-day in the estimation of the world as the grandest figure, the most majestic figure, in all modern times. Again in 1868 another Republican Convention came together in this city and nominated as its candidate for President of the United States another eminent citizen of Illinois, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. And the Republican party was again victorious; still again in 1880 the Republican party turned its face towards this political Mecca where two successes had been organized, and the murdered Garfield led the Republican party to victory. Mr. President and fellow-citizens, it is good for us to be here. There are omens of victory in the air. History repeats itself. There are promises of triumph to the Republican party in holding its convention in this great emporium of the Northwest. The commonwealth of Illinois, which has never wavered in its adherence to Republican principles since it gave to the Nation and the world the illustrious

Lincoln, now presents to this Convention for its consideration as the standard bearer of the Republican party another son of Illinois, one whose name will be recognized from one end of this land to the other, as an able statesman, a brilliant soldier, and an honest man—General John A. Logan.

A native of the State which he represents in the council of the Nation, reared among the youth of a section where every element of manhood is early brought into play, he is eminently a man of the people. The safety, the permanency and the prosperity of the Nation depend upon the courage, the integrity and the loyalty of its citizens. When yonder starred flag was assailed by enemies in arms, when the integrity of the union was imperiled by an organized treason, when the storm of war threatened the very life of this Nation, this gallant son of the prairie State resigned his seat in the Congress of the United States, returned to his home, and was among the first of our citizens to raise a regiment and to march to the front in defense of his country. Like Douglas, he believed that in time of war men must be either patriots or traitors, and he threw his mighty influence on the side of Union and Illinois, and made a record second to none in the history of States in the struggle to preserve this Government. His history is the record of the battles of Belmont, Donelson, Shiloh, Vicksburg, Lookout Mountain, Atlanta, and of the famous march to the sea. He never lost a battle. I repeat again, Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens, he never lost a battle in all the war. When there was fighting to be done he did not wait for others, nor did he fail to obey orders when they were received. His plume—the white plume of Henry of Navarre—was always to be seen at the point where the conflict raged the hottest. During the long struggle of four years he commanded, under the authority of the Government, first a regiment, then a brigade, then a division, then an army corps, and finally an

army. He remained in the service until the war closed, when, at the head of his army, with the scars of battle upon him, he marched into the capital of the nation and with brave men with whom he had bled on a hundred hard-fought fields, was mustered out of the service under the very shadow of the capitol which he had left four years before, as a member of Congress, to go and fight the battles of his country. When the war was over and general peace victoriously returned, he was again invited by his fellow-citizens to take his place in the councils of the Nation. In a service of twenty years in both houses of Congress he has shown himself to be no less able and distinguished as a citizen than he was renowned as a soldier. Conservative in the advocacy of measures involving the public welfare, ready and eloquent in debate, fearless, yes, I repeat again, fearless in defense of the rights of the weak against the oppressions of the strong, he stands to-day, and I say it without disposition to take one laurel from the brow of those men whose names may be presented to this Convention. I say he stands to-day, in my judgment, closer to the great mass of the people of this country than almost any other man now enjoying public attention.

No man has done more in the defense of those principles which have given life and spirit and victory to the Republican party than has John A. Logan, of Illinois. In all that goes to make up a brilliant, military and civil career and to commend a man to the favor of the people, he whose name we have presented here to-night has shown himself to be the peer of the best. We ask you, therefore, to give him this nomination because it would not be assailed and it is not assailable. We ask you to nominate him because his public record is so clear that even political calumny dare not attack it. We ask you to nominate him in behalf of the hundreds of thousands of gray, veteran, volunteer soldiers who are

to-night over this broad land standing around the telegraph offices waiting to know whether that gallant leader of the volunteer soldiers of this country is to receive the nomination at your hands. We ask you to nominate him in behalf of the white and colored Republicans of the South, who are here by the hundreds, black and white, appealing to this Convention as the representatives of our grand, old party to give protection and to vindicate them in their rights in the South. Now, my friends, standing in the midst of this vast assemblage of representative citizens of this grand Republic —aye, in the sublime presence of the people themselves, represented here to-night in all their majesty. If you do so he will give you a glorious victory in November next, and when he shall have taken his position as President of this great Republic, you may be sure you will have an administration in the interest of commerce, in the interest of labor, in the interest of finance, and in the interest of peace at home, and peace abroad, and in the interest of the prosperity of this great people."

To the mind of the writer the most important question of our time is the matter of education, and the establishment everywhere of a general, free school system. On this most vital question in view of our free-suffrage system, General Logan has been a consistent but determined agitator and legislator. In a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, Thursday March 16th, 1882, the General said :

MR. LOGAN. I ask the Secretary to read the bill that I desire to discuss.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill has had one reading. It will now have the second.

The bill (S. No. 850) to appropriate and expend the entire income derived from the internal-revenue taxes on the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits for the education of

all the children living in the United States was read the second time at length, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act, the entire income derived from the internal-revenue taxes on the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits shall be appropriated and expended for the education of all the children living in the United States.

SEC. 2. That the money so received shall be expended pro rata in the several States and Territories, as shown by the census of 1880 and each succeeding census.

SEC. 3. That the education hereby contemplated shall include such instruction as is provided in the curriculum of the public schools of the country, and also the establishment and maintenance of normal schools, teachers' institutes, and instruction in the industrial and mechanical arts.

SEC. 4. That any State or Territory, before receiving the benefits of this act, shall be required, by local-enactment, to make obligatory upon all children between the ages of seven and twelve years, school attendance for at least six months in each year.

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of the Interior is charged with the proper administration of this law, through the Commissioner of Education; and they are authorized and directed, under the approval of the President, to make all needful rules and regulations to carry this law into effect.

SEC. 6. That no part of this fund shall be used for the erection of schoolhouses or buildings of any kind for school purposes.

MR. LOGAN. If the bill now before the Senate becomes a law it will have the effect, as heretofore remarked, of distributing to the States and Territories, according to the population as shown by the census returns, about \$60,000,000 annually of the National revenue, to be expended by them in educating the children of the country, provided the tax

and production of distilled spirits remains substantially the same as at present.

The reasons for distributing this fund to the States and Territories, and having them expend it in educating the children, are doubtless apparent to every one. In most, if not all, of these there are already systems of free schools and organized plans of education aided and fostered by the State, and also the appliances and corps of officers necessary to carry on this work. For the General Government to attempt to inaugurate and operate a separate National system of education would, as a matter of course, not only entail upon the people an unnecessary expense, but would bring the National and State authorities into constant conflict. In other words, it is impossible to carry on in the same territory two distinct and different systems of public schools for the same children.

The bill presented seeks, therefore, to avoid this very serious objection by distributing the fund to the States and Territories, and allowing them to apply it to the purpose intended, the distribution to be *pro rata* according to population.

The principal reason for selecting the total population as given by the census returns, as the guide in making the distribution, instead of the number of children of a prescribed age, was on account of the greater accuracy of this enumeration. Another reason is, that it is the only reliable enumeration that is made under the Federal authority.

If an exact or thoroughly reliable enumeration of the children between the ages fixed in the bill could be obtained, year by year, this would be a preferable guide in the distribution, as it would give a slightly larger proportion to the rural districts and the sections most needing such assistance.

For example, it has been found in enumerating the children in France between the ages of six and thirteen, that

the proportion in the rural districts (communes of less than two thousand inhabitants) is a little higher than in cities, (communes of more than two thousand inhabitants.) In the former the average number out of every hundred inhabitants was found to be 12.67, and in some cases even as high as 15.72, while in the latter it was only 11.58. I presume this would also be found true to a certain extent in this country if we had the data necessary for the comparison.

The bill further requires that a State or Territory, in order to be entitled to the benefits of its provisions, must inaugurate, and keep in existence, an organized public school system, open to all children thereof of the prescribed age, and must also provide for enforced attendance at least six months in the year. As it will be necessary for some competent authority of the General Government to decide whether or not a State or Territory is entitled to the benefit of the bill, this is left to the Secretary of the Interior and Commissioner of Education, subject to the approval of the President.

These provisions, as will be admitted, I presume, by all, are necessary, in order that the funds so distributed shall be properly applied to the purposes for which they are granted. Another object in view in introducing them is to bring about, as soon as possible, a uniformity in the school system throughout the entire country. In defining the term "education" as used in the bill, it will be seen that I have included not only the usual curriculum of instruction in public schools, but also that of normal schools and teachers' institute. The advantages of, and I may say necessity for, normal schools are now so well understood and so generally admitted that it is hardly necessary for me to say anything on this point; still a few words in reference to them may not be amiss.

As an evidence of the felt necessity throughout the country for their establishment and maintenance I have only to

mention the fact, as shown by the last report of the Commissioner of education (page 77), that schools of this kind have been established in all of the States except Delaware, Florida, and Nevada, eighty of which are supported in part or whole by the States and thirteen by cities. How the opposition to these schools which has manifested itself in a variety of attacks, open and covert, has been received by the body of the people is shown by the returns to the office of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1879, from which it appears that the number of these institutions and the students attending them are about four times what they were in 1870, and that the increase in 1879 over 1878 was fifty-one schools.

A proposition was introduced in the New York Legislature in 1878 to abandon the State Normal school, which resulted in appointing a committee to investigate the subject. The report of this committee, transmitted to the Legislature May 19, 1879, presents (report of Commissioner of Education, 1879, page 79) the following conclusions:

1. That the normal schools are performing intelligently, efficiently, and in good faith the work expected of them by the State.
2. That the normal schools are an essential part of our public-school system, and as such should be liberally and unwaveringly supported.
3. That without normal schools there would be waste in public expenditures which must result from the employment of unskilled and incompetent teachers; and hence that true economy requires their maintenance.
4. That normal schools should have a settled place in the permanent policy of the State, and that henceforth the only question should be, How can they be improved and extended?

It was well said by an experienced Michigan superintendent

of schools that if he were to undertake the education of the children of the State as an individual enterprise, with the school fund as the fixed price, he would use a tenth of the fund to train a body of competent teachers, and with the other nine-tenth as wages would accomplish more than the whole would do as then used in the payment of unprepared instructors. (Report Commissioner of Education, 1879, page 80).

In order to become efficient as an instructor in any profession or art, it is absolutely necessary that the person should first pass through a course of instruction that will prepare him or her therefor, and this is as true of the teacher's as of any other profession.

For similar reasons the bill includes also instruction in the industrial and mechanical arts. I confess, agricultural schools have so far failed to meet fully the expectations of those who have advocated and supported them; but this has arisen chiefly from three causes: first, the want of properly prepared and experienced teachers; second, the want of adequate support, and, third, a kind of inherent prejudice against "scientific farming." That it is possible, by properly conducted institutions of this kind, to render instruction in the various agricultural and industrial branches advantageous to a Nation is proven by what has been accomplished in Europe. Germany has at present over one hundred and fifty schools of agriculture, horticulture, arboriculture, viniculture, and meadow culture, each of which has its farms, gardens, etc., attached. (Report of Commissioner of Education, page 138.)

Prussia alone had, in 1876, 6 higher agricultural academies, 46 agricultural schools, 29 schools of arboriculture and viniculture, and 6 schools of forestry. Even in Finland, which is ever associated in our minds with the land of the Esquimaux, they have both higher and lower grades

of agricultural institutions; and even schools for instruction in the manufacture of butter and cheese, one of the chief industries of the country, are maintained. (Report of Commissioner of Education, page 132.)

While our soil was new and possessed its virgin productiveness, labor only, with but little knowledge of science or art, was all that was needed to insure a bountiful harvest. But that condition is fast disappearing, and the demand made upon the soil in the mean time is rapidly increasing. The supply of meat, fuel, and lumber are great questions, which will be pressing heavily, not only on the minds of the people, but of our legislators, in another generation.

To meet these and other important kindred questions, it is our duty to begin now to train a corps of active minds to aid our agriculturists in meeting these demands. In other words, agriculture and the cognate branches of industry must be placed upon scientific bases, and made to take their position side by side with the most elevated professions. Some signs of a movement in this direction are beginning to be seen already in certain sections of the country. Let the Nation and States foster and aid it.

Thus, as will be seen, it is the object of this bill to carry this stimulus of education into every avenue of industrial life, from the daily duties of the good housewife and her farmer husband to those of the architects who plan the magnificent structures that adorn this and other cities.

The effect of this bill, even on the supposition with which I am now proceeding, would be to distribute this amount of tax in such a manner that it would be felt in a far less degree than at present. Nor could those who are engaged in the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits find in this arrangement any just cause for complaint, as it would not add one cent to the tax already imposed upon them.

It would require too much time for me to enter into the details to prove the correctness of these assertions, but I feel assured this will be conceded by every Senator.

The inability of some parents, the neglect of others, and the unwillingness of others to educate their children, was felt, at a very early day in the history of our country, to be detrimental to its best interests, and a waste of mental force that should not be allowed by society. The attempt to remedy this began at first in small communities.

* * * * *

It may be assumed that as the present generation shall receive and educate its children, and welcome the annual swarms of emigrants crowding to our shores, so will the land increase in all that makes a people worthy of everlasting remembrance. And the same conditions which secure this will also establish our country in all that a free people can desire : power, honor, comfort, intelligence and wealth. What some of these conditions are it is not hard to declare, for knowledge universally diffused is so clearly the great force that even a statement to this effect is unnecessary. That "knowledge is power," is a truism now denied by none.







